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# West Europe Report

No. 2173



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## WEST EUROPE REPORT

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## CONTENTS

## TERRORISM

## TURKEY

- Description of 'Covered Bazaar' Terrorist Attack  
(MILLIYET, 19 Jun 83)..... 1

## ENERGY ECONOMICS

## FRANCE

- Iraqi Oil Deliveries Exceed Expectations  
(LES ECHOS, 21 May 83)..... 3

- Briefs  
Heavy Fuels Price Increase 4

## GREECE

- Briefs  
Solar Energy Conference 5

## ECONOMIC

## FRANCE

- Cresson on Foreign Trade Strategy, Measures for PME's  
(LES ECHOS, 30 May 83, 1 Jun 83)..... 6

- Aid to Foreign Trade 6  
Social Policy Emphasized, Edith Cresson Interview 7

Pipeline Equipment Stimulates Soviet Trade (L'USINE NOUVELLE, 19 May 83).....	13
GREECE	
Briefs	
Shipping Income Down	14
SPAIN	
Guerra Addresses UGT on Job Creation (ABC, 2 Jun 83).....	15
TURKEY	
Price Support Policy Draws Positive Reaction (DUNYA, 2 Jun 83).....	19
Isin Urges Emergency Measures for Commercial Fleet (MILLI GAZETE, 2 Jun 83).....	21
POLITICAL	
CYPRUS	
Sirmen Eyes TFSC Self-Determination Resolution (Ali Sirmen; CUMHURIYET, 19 Jun 83).....	23
FRANCE	
Jean Poperen Thoughts Prior to PSF Congress (LE MONDE, 28 Apr 83).....	25
Popperen Call for 'Class War' Causes Controversy (Patrick Jarreau; LE MONDE, 30 Apr 83).....	30
GREECE	
Portuguese Paper Deplores Greek NATO Representative's Statements (A TARDE, 23 Jun 83).....	32
New Book Alleges Soviet Penetration of Newspaper ( I KATHIMERINI, 23, 24 Jun 83).....	33
ETHNOS Paper Named ETHNOS Sues	



ND Readies Itself for New Elections (I KATHIMERINI, 22 Jun 83).....	35
Papandreou's Reported Reliance on Family, Close Entourage ( I KATHIMERINI, 13 Jun 83).....	37
Financial Disclosures for Ministers, Deputies (I KATHIMERINI, 15 Jun 83).....	40
Gennimatas Rejects 'Hardliner' Label, Leftist Orientation (Gennimatas Interview; MESIMVRINI, 23 May 83).....	42
Government Warned on Council of State Appointments (I KATHIMERINI, 24 Jun 83).....	46

#### TURKEY

Inonu Statement on Founding of Social Democrat Party (CUMHURIYET, 2 Jun 83).....	49
Social - Democrat Inonu Makes Round of Contacts (CUMHURIYET, 26 May 83).....	51
Dogan Assessment of Social Democrat Founders (Yalcin Dogan; CUMHURIYET, 2 Jun 83).....	54
Mumcu on Parameters of Political Party Membership (Ugur Mumcu; CUMHURIYET, 15 Jun 83).....	56
Mumcu Analyzes Stabilization of Right Wing (CUMHURIYET, 26 May 83).....	58
Broadened Authority Given Provincial Governors (Yunus Nadi; CUMHURIYET, 15 Jun 83).....	61
Toker on Cohesion in Broad Political Spectrum (Metin Toker; MILLIYET, 26 May 83).....	62
Arcayurek Impressions on State of Political Play (Cuneyt Arcayurek; MILLIYET, 26 May 83).....	64

#### MILITARY

#### EUROPEAN AFFAIRS

French, Dutch, Belgians Build Joint Minehunter (LE VIF, 9 Jun 83).....	67
FRG, Norway Cooperate in Submarine Construction, Deployment (Alexander Szandar; SUEDEDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG, 15 Jun 83)	71

## DESCRIPTION OF 'COVERED BAZAAR' TERRORIST ATTACK

Istanbul MILLIYET in Turkish 19 Jun 83 p 3

[Passage enclosed in slantlines printed in boldface]

[Text] The investigation carried out by the police in connection with the bomb and armed raid on the "Covered Bazaar" by an aggressor who is believed to be of Armenian origin revealed that his clothing was of French origin. High level police officials say that the attack, which has wide ramifications, could not have been carried out by a single person.

Single Gun Used

Persistent efforts are being made to determine the identity of the terrorist who was dead when apprehended. The fact that the attacker who carried no identification on his person never said a thing before he died makes matters more difficult. However, a scrutiny of his clothes showed that his jacket and shoes came from France while his shirt was of the cheap kind of Italian merchandise which is sold mainly in France. This development and the study of the terrorist's body, as well as some clues on which comments were guarded, give strength to the view that the assailant was of Armenian origin.

From the police ballistics examination of empty cartridges and of bullet traces on the walls, it became apparent that a single gun was used. However, eyewitnesses claim that when the aggressor planted the bomb concealed in a plastic trash can in the busiest section of the Kalpakcilar street, he was not alone. The police dwell on the possibility that the automatic Sten gun used in the raid and the defensive hand grenade which had a very loud report, might have been introduced into the country by somebody else. Meanwhile, in order to determine where the terrorist found shelter in Istanbul, all hotel registration records have been examined. A photograph of the terrorist was also shown to all reception employees; but no clues have come up so far.

The terrorist entered the Bazaar from the Bayazit gate and left a blue plastic trash can in the most populated section of the Kalpakcilar street. The assailant, who took out of the trash can an automatic Sten gun wrapped in newspapers and a hand grenade, also removed the pin of the bomb he left in the trash can and headed for a corner. Meanwhile, the explosive device, which proved to be a hand grenade of the defensive type, exploded with a great deal of noise. Following the explosion pandemonium broke out in the Bazaar and the terrorist started mowing down at random those around him and all those, young and old, who were trying to get away, with the gun he held. Amid the screams of the wounded

mingled with the fearful cries of those who fled, the attacker also lost his cool. The terrorist started running in the maze of streets, turned into the Keseciler street and, although he had the chance there to turn into the Kalpakcilar street and escape, he lost his way and entered the Azicilar street. Eyewitnesses said of the assailant that /"He looked more like a tourist who had lost his way."/ He started walking fast and opened fire at random once again. At that point, the bullets in the magazine were exhausted and, after changing the clip, he continued to fire. The terrorist turned into Zenneciler street and lost himself in the covered Bazaar as if he had been literally trapped in a labyrinth. Realizing then that he was surrounded by the commando soldiers of the gendarmery who guarded the Bazaar gates and by the police squads which rushed to the spot, the terrorist pulled the pin from the grenade he held and committed suicide.

A day after this occurrence which caused the deaths of 2 people while another 23 were wounded, life resumed its normal pace in the Covered Bazaar. And 12 of the wounded patients who were being treated in hospital, were released. Hospital authorities stated that the condition of those still hospitalized was satisfactory.

12278

CSO: 3554/341

## IRAQI OIL DELIVERIES EXCEED EXPECTATIONS

Paris LES ECHOS in French 21 May 83 p 21

[Text] Settlement of the Iraqi debt has turned out to be more costly than France expected. It has been confirmed that French companies will have to take 80,000 barrels a day of crude from the Turkish terminal served by the only pipeline still carrying Iraqi oil. Over a year--the term of the government-to-government contract--supplies will amount to 4 million tons, or 1 million tons over the initial figure announced.

Baghdad, however, is not giving anything away. Only a little less than half of the deliveries will be made at the market price, which is currently one dollar below the official price (\$28.44). Thus, the official price will be invoiced for more than 2 million tons.

Settlement of this package, obtained by the Quai d'Orsay during Deputy Prime Minister Tarek Aziz's recent visit to Paris, is not the responsibility of French oil men. The surplus supplies are estimated at some 100 million francs. However, it is not so much this financial constraint as the increase in supplies of oil that affects the oil companies.

A recent study by the Professional Oil Committee shows that in 1982, Elf-Aquitaine and the French Oil Company had 42.6 million tons of crude in their basic supplies. The domestic market at the same time absorbed 81.6 million tons. French demand, however, will be less this year and it looks like the trend is downward, in view of the country's surpluses in electricity and especially gas.

This is one more reason why the French groups should try to share the new Iraqi contract with other companies doing business in France, through the famous national duty clause. The appropriate offices in the Ministry of Industry are working to finalize the agreement on the French side.

Just before the weekend, it was implied that it might not be necessary to apply the national duty clause, since foreign refineries operating in France had proposed to take the Iraqi crude themselves, presumably on market terms. It will be a delicate matter to work out the distribution.

9805

CSO: 3519/526

## BRIEFS

HEAVY FUELS PRICE INCREASE--The French Refinery Company (CFR) should be increasing its sales price schedule slightly for heavy fuels beginning 1 June 1983. This is a result of the continued increase in the price of the dollar since the start of May. According to the "Oil Industry Newsletter," the price hike should be 20 francs a ton for all qualities and all origins, raising the CFR's price for grade 2 regular fuel to 1,400 francs a ton, excluding the VAT [value-added tax], from shipment locations in the Atlantic and Mediterranean areas. This base price is currently 1,380 francs a ton, after the 5 franc per ton increase on 11 May resulting from a tax change. [The domestic tax rate per ton of heavy fuel and IFP [French Petroleum Institute] and customs fees were raised on that date from 48.09 francs a ton to 53.10 francs a ton]. [Text] [Paris LES ECHOS in French 25 May 83 p 6] 9805

CSO: 3519/526

## BRIEFS

SOLAR ENERGY CONFERENCE--Brussels (ATHENS NEWS AGENCY)--The 50th Conference on the Photovoltaic Conversion of Solar Energy, which is organized by the EEC, will take place in Athens next October. This was decided on last Friday in Brussels by the organizational committee, which discussed the topic of the conference and made decisions on the best way to organize it. Participants on the Greek side were I. Khatzivasileiadis and V. Makios. This conference, which enjoys an international influence, will have as participants over 700 scientific specialists from the European countries, the United States, Japan, and other countries. And all the recent technological achievements in the exploitation of solar energy on the basis of photovoltaic conversion will be presented and discussed. Some 320 scientific studies have already been submitted, which constitutes a record in the organizing of such a conference. As the host country for this conference of photovoltaic conversion of solar energy, Greece has to its credit two important projects in this sector: That of Kythnos and that of Agia Roumeli, which were carried out under the solar energy program of the EEC. It should be noted that the development of technologies in solar energy is of significant benefit to Greece in terms of the corresponding applications, because of the favorable solar-radiation conditions which it displays. [Text] [Athens I KATHIMERINI in Greek 14 Jun 83 p 11] 12114

CSO: 3521/348

## CRESSON ON FOREIGN TRADE STRATEGY, MEASURES FOR PME'S

## Aid to Foreign Trade

Paris LES ECHOS in French 30 May 83 p 5

[Excerpt] Mrs Edith Cresson, minister of foreign trade, has decided to give full support to some of the numerous and very pertinent suggestions which have come out of different committees:

--An agreement between the Ministry of National Education and the Ministry of Foreign Trade will be worked out to adapt training programs to the needs of the export industry. In particular, a school specializing in exporting will be established, as Laurent Fabius has already announced.

--The proper use to be made of Economic Expansion Posts Abroad (PEE) is still a matter for disagreement. This has led to the establishment of a committee of PEE users. On the basis of a list of the charges to be collected for the various services, it will be easier to determine the services to be provided in response to the demand from the companies concerned. The same principle will be applied to the CFCE [French Center for Foreign Trade].

--More appropriate procedures for providing advice and information to new exporters, particularly to EEC countries, will be proposed to the companies.

--In the Economic Expansion Posts (PEE), the formula of using professional delegates belonging to a federation will be broadly used. This could involve a specialist sent directly by the professional federation or an expert under contract who has been specially briefed.

--Regarding foreign trade companies, a better arrangement of financial procedures is under consideration.

--One ambition of the ministry is also to coordinate the various state aid programs (cultural, scientific, etc.) based on the concerns of the exporting companies.

--The period of consideration for insurance on market development, which is presently about 4 months, will be reduced.



--Mrs Cresson also wanted to "take on" the banks. The conditions for obtaining bank sponsorship will be improved through the unblocking of credit for these operations.

--The exchange guarantee proposed by COFACE [French Foreign Trade Insurance Company] will be arranged for the short term.

--Another major project is significantly increasing the number of companies benefiting from simplified export procedures (only about 45 percent of overall sales under the present system).

--Finally, a program of cooperation will be developed with professional organizations to develop product strategies in certain countries.

#### Social Policy Emphasized

Paris LES ECHOS in French 1 Jun 83 pp 2-3

[Interview with Edith Cresson, minister of Foreign Trade and Tourism; date and place not specified, by Jean-Michel Lamy]

[Text] At ease in her new duties, Mrs Edith Cresson seems quite satisfied with breathing the pure air of big business. From all available evidence, exporters are more urbane people to her than other professional categories. She is fully determined to fight for the survival and, above all, for an increase of French exports. The minister has already annoyed the Germans by her attacks on the labyrinthine procedures in Germany. Of course, Mrs Cresson rejects any recourse to protectionism, but she is taking the initiative to look for a similar view in other countries.

The presidential policy is her policy. The sharp condemnation of Jean-Pierre Chevenement, former ministry of industry, is, therefore, not surprising. This does not mean, however, that she has undergone a pure and simple conversion to all of the views of the Rue de Rivoli.

In any case, in dealing with the Treasury, which balances the scales, the role of a "spending" ministry is not an easy one. One of the objectives of those responsible for the state budget is, in fact, to reduce assistance provided to exports as much as possible. Hence the desire to press the big companies to make use of foreign exchange credits. This is one formula which presents fewer interest rate problems but which involves a foreign exchange risk for the companies.

Elsewhere the breathing space given to export credits--an increase of 15 percent, instead of 12 percent--is certainly considerable. However, as the professional exporters emphasize, this corresponds to a need for prefinancing credits for large items of durable goods.



The other advantages won by Mrs Cresson are more modest. Her desire to use the additional 7 billion French francs over the initial budget estimates, principally for ordinary trade transactions, leaves observers skeptical. The basic question remains the issue of competitiveness, they repeat.

Finally, senior management of the big companies is still waiting for "the broadening of the Banque de France cover approval." This is a procedure which makes it possible to cover oneself on a net exchange position, with a review to be made after the transaction is completed. This is currently available to less than 50 companies engaged in foreign trade.

#### Atmosphere After the Williamsburg Meeting

Question After the Williamsburg Summit and its few concrete results, can we expect a new foreign trade strategy?

Answer As we were able to anticipate, no fundamental decisions are ever reached at these summit meetings. However, the direction of policy agreed upon was not particularly bad for us. It is said that a meeting was held between ministers of economic affairs to study to what extent we might attempt to improve the monetary system. Although it may have seemed that France was isolated at first, it happened that it was France which made certain proposals, and these were adopted.

For us and for the president of the Republic, it was never a matter of thinking that, from one day to the next, we were going to have a meeting and that it could resolve something immediately. It took 3 years at Bretton Woods to reach a conclusion. To put it simply, the more difficult a problem is, the more it is necessary to bring together at an early date those who, for various reasons, are less sensitive to the problem.

Question And regarding the upward flight of the dollar?

Answer It wasn't the Williamsburg conference which affected the evolution of the dollar. I think that there is no reason for that tendency to come to a halt. The dollar is a money to take refuge in, and investors think that the American economy is stronger and will be the first to take off again. With higher interest rates available in the United States, it is worthwhile to have dollars. We are paying for the American crisis. We tried to make our partners understand this.

#### Completely Against Chevenement

Question Do you think there is enough of a consensus in France to support the rebalancing of our foreign trade?

[Answer] I should emphasize that, when we were in the opposition, the socialists did not hold views similar to those of Valéry Giscard d'Estaing on the eve of a major international conference. At a time when the economy is in difficulty, a general consensus in the country is necessary.

[Question] Jean-Pierre Chevenement has recently declared that he is certain that the government's policy will fail. Isn't this a further handicap?

[Answer] In the Socialist party there is a custom of having free debate on a given issue. I don't say that Jean-Pierre Chevenement is right for all of that. I am even completely against what he has been saying recently.

You have to climb to the summit of power with the measures to be taken already in mind. There is only one policy which could possibly be followed at the present time. However, that policy remains fundamentally a social policy. The Auroux laws will stimulate progress. The workers must not be thought of as so many robots. In Japan half of the salaried personnel receive pre-professional wages. In the United States, rewards are given those who make suggestions.

To redirect our ship, we need not only the broad support of the company directors but also the support of the trade unions ready to make recommendations.

Seven Billion Francs More

[Question] Export credits mainly benefit the big companies. When the present intention is to encourage ordinary trade, isn't this paradoxical?

[Answer] The export system is a good one. Naturally, up to now it has principally benefited the large groups. I would not be prepared to support the criticism that says: "They're giving them too much. They are selling but it costs us a lot to sell." Overall, this involves 17 billion French francs per year (that includes the COFACE deficit, Treasury loans, the cost of rediscounting export credits at the Bank de France, and interest allowances).

In reality the large groups employ a large number of people and draw in their wake a considerable number of medium-sized companies. CGE [General Electric Company of France] has one of its subsidiaries in the construction industry, Sainrapt and Brice. When it builds a hospital overseas on a turnkey basis (including everything, even bedsheets), the effects in other sectors of industry are considerable.

When credits are provided to these large groups, I would also like to look at the same time at their behavior toward sub-contracting companies. The objective is to take into consideration the regional companies which may benefit. In the building and public works sector it is certain that the effort made by the state to help exports will have repercussions throughout France. I will keep an eye on this.

**Question** So there is no question of reducing the flow of credits to the large contracts...

**Answer** This arrangement is part of the policy which we wish to follow to aid the developing countries. It is in our interest to make our presence known in these markets. This is especially the case when they reach a certain consumption level, in Southeast Asia, for example. Then it will be possible to move to the phase of ordinary trade. We have to make our presence known.

For all kinds of reasons it has been easier to follow this policy up to now rather than the alternative policy which involves encouraging medium-sized companies to become involved in trade with the developed countries. It has been easier because there are only a few of the large companies and because they speak the same language as the government. The officials and the administrators have had the same training. For small and medium-sized companies it is more difficult to find one's footing in the administrative jungle.

**Question** What will you do then to encourage medium-sized companies to export?

**Answer** I would like to develop exporting activity by medium-sized companies and especially by regional firms. First of all, let's look at the figures. Ordinary exports, which require short-term credits, will increase by 14 percent this year. For the big projects the increase will be 17 percent.

At the end of 1982 the outstanding, short-term debt amounted to 51.9 billion francs, and the medium and long-term credits reached 165.6 billion francs. Taking into account the expected increases (of 14 and 17 percent, respectively), by the end of 1983 total credits will amount to about 253 billion francs. Where are the new stimuli?

—The specific, basic export credit indices were supposed to increase, according to the Ministry of Finance, by 12 percent per year. After having fought hard for 2 months we obtained a standard of 15 percent per year. That amounts to about 7 billion francs more for export credits.

This additional amount should be earmarked for medium-sized companies and used for short-term transactions. With the support of the Ministry of Economy, directives in this sense will be given to the banks.

—We will also ask the large companies to use foreign exchange credits. This has the advantage of not being linked to a given foreign exchange rate. At the same time, export contracts should be changed and be stated in foreign exchange units. Up to now there has been no deliberate policy to encourage this practice.

—Another aspect is that bank sponsorship credits for market development insurance used to have a standard charge of 3 percent. From now on the

banks will be able to use an increased allotment of 15 percent to handle such sponsorship, that is, to advance the money before incurring the charges with complete security. They know that in case of failure COFACE will repay from 70 to 80 percent of all charges. However, the banks are hesitating to make such advances because of this small risk. From now on the companies will be able to take the first steps more easily and begin to export. Thanks to the standard charge raised from 103 to 115, the banks will no longer have to engage in foreign exchange transactions to the detriment of the sponsorship.

--The ministry is also considering the reestablishment of the "revolving" credit which was abolished in 1972. This involves the early financing of manufactured goods earmarked for export by small and medium-sized companies. This formula will no longer be applied generally among all the various kinds of credit.

#### A State of Mind Needs to Be Changed

Question In fact, will the medium-sized companies be affected by these new measures?

Answer They often say, "All of that is not for us." This state of mind which absolutely must be changed, is to be found among bosses who have a company which at times is not going so badly, have order books for delivery in France, but who say, "I'll have to go to trouble, commit money. I don't want to take any risks at the present time. I'm happy with the market I have." That's what we have to change.

Question In the course of your contacts with exporters have you observed a certain tendency to withdraw to within the borders of France?

Answer I have had a great feeling of satisfaction in seeing the enormous good will on the part of company officers. The fact is that they have ideas, and they're not waiting for everything to come from the government.

As far as I am concerned, I am going to take concrete actions, such as visiting the various regions of the country. I have nine trips already scheduled, to install in office the regional foreign trade directors. Each time I will be accompanied by representatives of the large companies, so that I can put them in contact with the directors of the small companies.

It is not correct to speak of a kind of slackening of effort due to financial difficulties. Moreover, the volume of sales abroad is increasing. Very often I see companies taking initiatives and displaying great courage in the export field. The government should press ahead with the question of the procedural labyrinth in Germany or questions that have arisen between the EEC and Japan, among other matters.

Question How are you getting used to your position of power?

Answer Power is habit-forming. That is true. I am going to have a "blue" for the budget, that is, a specific document for the credits earmarked for my ministry. I also note that all other countries have a real ministry of foreign trade. And I intend to provide myself with the operational instruments necessary for such a ministry.

Like the foreign trade delegation, whose mission is to encourage enthusiasm among the companies concerned. For example, at Chatellerault the hospital will buy French-made surgical gloves in the future. However, the French manufacturer needs support in the development of his market. I will take certain initiatives in several areas of activity, like furniture. And if the French don't have enough ideas, we will do what Francois I did when he brought in Italians or Greeks. However, naturally it is important to press for creativity in our schools first of all.

5170

CSO: 3519/525

## PIPELINE EQUIPMENT STIMULATES SOVIET TRADE

Paris L'USINE NOUVELLE in French 19 May 83 p 83

[Text] A boost in Soviet-French trade and a favorable trade balance for France: the first quarter of 1983 marks a reversal of the trend as a result of the construction of the Euro-Siberian pipeline.

During the first quarter of 1983, French-Soviet trade increased by 20 percent in comparison with the first 3 months of last year (it went from 7 to 8.5 billion francs). More importantly, French exports doubled (4.4 billion francs), while Soviet imports declined by 16 percent (4 billion francs). This is what the members of the French-Soviet Chamber of Commerce (CCFS), which has its general assembly in Moscow, disclosed today. "After a decline in trade (2 percent) and a growing deficit for France (8.6 billion francs) in 1982, we are witnessing a spectacular reversal of the trend," according to Jean Fevrier, secretary-general of the CCFS. "This 400-million franc surplus for France is primarily due to supplies furnished for the Euro-Siberian pipeline."

These partial results do not predict anything for the overall 1983 balance sheet. But they will at least create a favorable climate for the next meeting of the "small commission" which, postponed for "technical reasons" at the request of the French, should be held before the summer. In the meantime, a delegation of 85 industrialists (60 firms including Pechiney, Creusot-Loire, Matra, Renault...) is currently in the USSR on a trade prospecting mission organized by the CCFS.

9805

CSO: 3519/526

## BRIEFS

SHIPPING INCOME DOWN--The merchant-marine foreign exchange which entered the country in the first 3 months of 1983 decreased by 22.7 percent in comparison to the corresponding period in 1982. Specifically, this year (January-March), \$323 million has flowed in, compared to \$418 million in the first 3 months of 1982. More particularly, in March the foreign exchange was \$108 million, compared to \$151 million for the corresponding month of 1982, and thus it registered a decline of 28.5 percent. [Text] [Athens I KATHIMERINI in Greek 14 Jun 83 p 1] 12114

CSO: 3521/348



## GUERRA ADDRESSES UGT ON JOB CREATION

Madrid ABC in Spanish 2 Jun 83 pp 9, 47-48

[Text] Deputy Prime Minister Alfonso Guerra opened the General Union of Workers' [UGT] confederal congress yesterday saying that the government "will carry out all the pledges (which are not mere promises) in its electoral program despite the crisis and contrary to some prognosticators." Among these, he underscored the pledge to create 800,000 jobs during the current legislative session. However, Industry and Energy Minister Carlos Solchaga cast doubts on such a figure when he said he saw this forecast to be difficult, "almost impossible," to achieve.

Everyone in the political and labor worlds was surprised by Carlos Solchaga's statement at THE INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE and Council of Chambers of Commerce sponsored symposium with businessmen and financiers from all over the world. It was surprising because it was the first official statement that at least recognizes the difficulty in fulfilling this part of the program.

The first reaction to Solchaga's statement came from Labor Minister Joaquin Almunia when he spoke at the symposium. The Labor Minister pointed out that the 800,000 jobs would not be created without everyone's efforts. Labor Minister Almunia reported these statements yesterday.

Another administration official, Secretary of State for Economy and Planning Miguel Angel Fernandez Ordonez, toned down the minister's statements. However, he did not give the same categorical guarantees Alfonso Guerra gave on whether the program would be carried out at this time.

Miguel Angel Fernandez Ordonez, who is the principal person responsible for government planning, said no one said it was impossible but that, according to the figures used in making these estimates, different opinions could emerge. Someone who has a pessimistic opinion of the behavior of productivity during the last few years would lower the number of jobs to be created by the socialist program to only 500,000 to 600,000. It is likely that, with the anticipated productivity range, the 800,000 jobs will be created.

Government spokesman Miguel Angel Molinero also spoke along these same lines after the cabinet meeting. He said the cabinet had not dealt specifically with this matter. He pointed out, [however], that the government remains resolved to stick with its estimates.



Solchaga's statements and the open debate Alfonso Guerra's words infer--despite successive declarations aimed at removing the substance from such a debate--earned the severest criticism yesterday from the non-governmental labor union opposition. At the political level, Popular Group [GP] spokesman Pedro Schwartz recalled that the socialists had been told during many debates of the impossibility of fulfilling the program.

Workers Commissions' [CCOO] Secretary General Marcelino Camacho was not as harsh. In statements Camacho made to this newspaper, he felt Solchaga's statements were very grave if they were not repudiated by the government. He also asked for a change in economic policy.

#### Solchaga's Statements Disturb Labor Unions

Deputy Prime Minister Alfonso Guerra was applauded by the delegates to the General Union of Labor congress when he corrected the opinion expressed by Industry and Energy Minister Carlos Solchaga the previous day on the government's more than possible inability to create 800,000 jobs during the 4 years (to the next general election) the socialists control the legislature. Guerra assured the delegates the government was going to fulfill the pledges contained in its electoral program, among them, the creation of those already polemical 800,000 new jobs.

Alfonso Guerra's statement left those made by Prime Minister Felipe Gonzalez at the symposium where Solchaga had given his opinion on this matter right where they were.

Prime Minister Gonzalez made two categorical statements at the inauguration of the symposium organized by THE INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE and the Superior Council of Chambers of Commerce: one was to confirm the pledge to create 800,000 jobs which he underscored at the press conference, the other, the government's intention of bringing inflation to four percent during the last year of its mandate.

#### Solchaga's Doubts

Besides the doubts Minister of Economy and Finance Miguel Boyer is quoted expressing over the prime minister's latter statement, Industry and Energy Minister Carlos Solchaga revealed during the second day of this meeting the official doubts (at least partial doubts) on creating 800,000 jobs during this legislature. He expressed these doubts when responding to a question put to him by a businessman or financier attending the symposium. Solchaga said, "I have a notion it will be difficult, almost impossible" to fulfill this pledge.

Miguel Angel Fernandez Ordonez, Secretary of State for Economy and Planning, publicly expressed these same doubts about creating the 800,000 jobs. He said yesterday that it is very difficult to be sure if it will actually be fulfilled during this legislature. In his opinion, if we take the increase in productivity obtained in the last 4 years (as some do) as a point of reference, then it is difficult to achieve this goal. He said, "If conditions change, the pledge's goal is an achievable one."

The doubts expressed by part of the members of the executive were exposed by Alfonso Guerra when he declared yesterday morning at the UGT congress that "despite the economic crisis and contrary to some prognosticators, the government is going to fulfill all of its electoral pledges from first to last." He continued, "the government is in a position to confirm its pledge (which is not a mere promise) to create 800,000 jobs."

#### Camacho and the Ministerial Crisis

While Alfonso Guerra spoke at the congress, CCOO General Secretary Marcelino Camacho was severely criticizing Carlos Solchaga's speech. Camacho indicated in statements to ABC that Solchaga's words were extremely grave if the government did not repudiate them. He also wondered how, 5 months after the elections, it was possible to have a reversal on a matter that had substantially helped the socialists obtain their electoral results.

"If that economic policy proves it does not work, then what must be done is to change the policy and some minister," he told ABC. He said, "There are difficulties but these must be resolved and not go backward in retreat and follow a policy similar to the one followed by the UCD [Democratic Center Union]." He said, "What cannot be done at this time is to look abroad for solutions while we are still not sure whether or not the recovery is definite in the United States." He also did not see the logic in the socialist government's recent statements recognizing the United States' leadership.

Also from labor, the Workers Trade Union (USO) indicated that "the industry minister's statements, complemented by the ambiguity of other members of government on this matter, are particularly worrisome when contrasted with the anti-inflationary obsession, the temporary measures covering contracting, the announced flexibility of worker roles, or the radical manner in which the government plans to enter into industrial reconversion." The first big reaction to the unpopular measures announced by Industry and Energy Minister Carlos Solchaga has occurred.

At yesterday's opening in Madrid of the UGT's confederal congress, Deputy Prime Minister Alfonso Guerra confirmed the government's pledge to create 800,000 jobs and to call a referendum on Spain's NATO membership.

Alfonso Guerra attended the opening session representing Felipe Gonzalez who is currently on an official visit in Latin America. Gonzalez is accompanied by various members of the PSOE [Spanish Socialist Workers Party] executive and the ministers of labor, culture and education. The acting prime minister assured the delegates that Gonzalez is going to fulfill his pledges from first to last despite what some prognosticators say. He said, "The government will call a referendum when it draws up the resolution so this nation can freely decide if it does or does not want to be part of NATO." Guerra said the outcome is already clearly drawn in the consciousness of the Spanish people. He also said that many studies and polls show a majority favor non-membership. He said, "According to the polls, more people are against membership than in favor of it: even among those who vote Popular Alliance [AP]."

He greeted those present "with happiness because this congress is the culmination of an effort that has made the UGT the number one labor movement once again. This process coincided with the PSOE victory and it was due to the fact that they have known how to adapt to the real circumstances of each moment."

Guerra indicated the general outline of the macroeconomic direction the government will follow in the current difficult economic circumstances. The government has chosen to follow a policy of progressive adjustment that will allow inflation to come down and stable jobs to be created. He added that both restrictive and expansive policies had been rejected. Among the concrete measures to be taken by the government in the medium term, Guerra underscored the stabilization of the deficit in 1983 and reducing it by one point annually by fighting against tax fraud and a just distribution of the tax burden. He qualified as essential and indispensable that, through a concerted effort with the social forces, inflation be reduced by two or three points annually until the OECD level is reached.

In his opinion, these measures are not enough unless they are accompanied by others such as industrial restructuring and reconversion. The government is already working on these measures. It is substituting sectors with no future with those that have a better outlook. He added that it is evident to him that the majority of workers in these sectors agree with the measures so long as the jobs lost are replaced by others. He said, "It is necessary to reform the financial system, giving power to the control systems in order to prevent the existence of a financial jungle and to avoid shocks such as the one that led to the Rumasa expropriation." He said administrative reform was necessary, reform of the social security system through management modernization, reform of local government financing and rationalization of transfers to public enterprises which now only have 2 percent of the total financing capacity.

He underscored an important role for the unions in this effort and because of this he expressed the need to strengthen them. To achieve this, the government will promote the consolidation of democratic unions to make them strong and self sufficient and capable of financing themselves without depending on assistance. He listed a series of legislative projects in the labor field such as the laws on labor union freedom, strikes, changing the basic employment law and returning union property.

Enrique Tierno Galvan, the mayor of Madrid, had welcomed the delegates earlier. He pointed out that "a policy of progress and not one of development must be carried out." Delegations from international labor organizations also spoke at the congress.

9935

CSO: 3548/433

## PRICE SUPPORT POLICY DRAWS POSITIVE REACTION

Istanbul DUNYA in Turkish 2 Jun 83 p 3

[Text] BURSA--Muhittin Kocaefe, head of the Agricultural Office in Bursa, stated that he found the new price support policy agreeable "provided that the interest rate paid producers in the event of a delay in payment for their crops is not less than the inflation rate."

According to the new policy, the producer is to receive a 50 percent down payment in cash for his crops, with the balance due in 6 months. If there is a delay in payment, he is to be paid interest. Kocaefe termed these decisions positive and appropriate.

In calling attention to the fact that the new price support policy is oriented toward significantly increasing producers' sales to cooperatives, Kocaefe made a point of saying that measures to increase production must also be taken without delay. "Support prices," he said, "are also a basic motivating factor for increasing production. If you establish support prices to keep the producer from suffering, overall production will increase."

Kocaefe noted how an earlier decision had been made to have the balance owed producers paid within 6 months, and how this was never implemented by a number of cooperatives. Remarking that "the important thing is not to make decisions, but to implement them once they are made," he continued:

"The producer borrows from the cooperative what is actually an advance to be used for production input. When he delivers his crop, the cooperative should deduct his debt from the value of the crop. For example, when a producer who borrowed 200,000 lira from the cooperative delivers 600,000 lira worth of crops, the 200,000 lira debt should be deducted from the 600,000 lira and he should be told that he will receive 400,000 lira. However, the cooperatives have neither been paying the producer

nor deducting his debt, so that his 200,000 lira loan is now being slapped with interest. In other words, the producer is suffering because he cannot get the money that is owed him, and at the same time, he is being burdened with interest because his debt has not been subtracted. This situation needs to be remedied as quickly as possible."

### Interest and Inflation

Kocaeffe tagged it positive and appropriate that the new price support policy calls for interest to be paid to the producer if the cooperative delays payment to him, but clarified this by saying that "the interest rate to be paid is very important." He explained, "This rate must not fall below the inflation rate. There is no other way that the producer can be compensated for the damage he suffers because of the delay in money owed him. The new interest rate must not be 5 or 10 percent."

### Price Supports and Production

Kocaeffe noted that a look at the new price support policy shows the policy to be geared toward increasing sales to cooperatives which have been low in the past because producers have opted to deal with merchants rather than cooperatives, owing to the cooperatives' methods of payment. He asked that measures also be taken as soon as possible to ensure increased production.

Kocaeffe concluded by saying, "The support prices set for producers are the basic motivating factor for increasing production. Past years have shown that keeping support prices down has kept production down too. To get an increase in production, we need to determine support prices that will keep the producer from suffering. In calculating costs, the work done by the producer and his family is not taken into consideration. Also, since other villagers are not working for the producer free of charge, the cost of their labor must likewise be added into costs. This year, for example, there is talk of having a support price of 6 lira for sugar beets. According to our calculations, however, the support price this year should be at least 8.6 lira. Similarly, it is costing the producer 28 lira to produce a kilo of wheat this year, so the support price should be 32 lira. To keep the Bursa wheat producer from being inconvenienced, we also need to set up a sales office in Bursa. Because it is too costly for wheat producers here to take their wheat to the sales markets in the outlying districts, they are selling their crops to merchants at lower prices."

12279

CSO: 3554/313



## ISIN URGES EMERGENCY MEASURES FOR COMMERCIAL FLEET

Istanbul MILLI GAZETE in Turkish 2 June 83 p 4

[Text] ISTANBUL--According to Fethi Isin, Director General of Shipping at the Maritime Bank of Turkey, the Turkish Commercial Fleet could be threatened with becoming a thing of the past if essential steps are not taken in its behalf.

In a statement Isin made to Ankara News Agency, he pointed out how every sector in Turkey has been taking advantage of the liberal working system and ruthless competition among seamen, thus forcing Turkish ships to transport cargo at rock-bottom prices. This attitude, Isin added, is also responsible for the problem of having Turkish goods transported by foreign ships. He continued:

"Our ships need steady work because their expenses do not stop even if their work does. Unless the Ministry of Transportation takes the necessary measures, our commercial fleet which was established through great sacrifices and at the risk of huge amounts of capital will be unable to progress. Moreover, it will be impossible to add new ships to the fleet. Even though the goal of maritime commerce is to build a new fleet with the income earned from using older ships, this is hardly the case in Turkey. Turkish shipowners are struggling to keep their old ships going, to say nothing of buying new ones."

Director General Isin went on to say that the public sector, which has a 30 percent share in Turkish shipping, faces the same threat of non-existence as the private sector. He explained:

"This same threat holds true for the public sector too. We have stopped investments and right now we cannot even operate our ships on the sinking-fund that is supposed to be left for investments. If a 'cargo distribution system' were established, this would alleviate the crisis in the shipping sector, enabling our maritime commerce to breathe more easily. The responsibility here falls upon our shipowners and the Chamber of Maritime Commerce."

Isin elaborated on this by saying that a shipowner with one or two ships would be hard-pressed if he were unable to obtain cargo. The 'cargo distribution system', however, would not only afford the shipping sector a balanced system of distribution; it would also reduce the share of Turkish cargo transported by foreign ships.

12279

CSO: 3554/313

## SIRMEN EYES TFSC SELF-DETERMINATION RESOLUTION

Istanbul CUMHURIYET in Turkish 19 Jun 83 p 3

[Article by Ali Sirmen in the column "In the World Today": "Important Developments in the TFSC"; passages enclosed in slantlines printed in boldface]

[Text] On the very next day after the United Nations' Security Council resolution to prolong by another 6 months the Peace Force's tour of duty in Cyprus, the TFSC parliament passed the self-determination and referendum laws.

These two events following one upon another must not be interpreted as a TFSC reaction to the Security Council's resolution. Quite on the contrary, TFSC President Rauf Denktas emphasized that, since it was not related to the General Assembly resolution, the Security Council's resolution was met positively.

Immediately after the General Assembly's last resolution, the TFSC was inclining toward self-determination, because of the Greek Cypriot authorities' persistence in dragging the matter onto the international platform, thereby behaving as if they totally disregarded the wishes of the people.

Thus the latest resolution of the TFSC follows the direction of that inclination. The passing of such a resolution also carries the meaning of a proclamation of self-determination. At this stage, the parliament has simply legislated on this matter and, at the same time, it has paved the way, regarding this same question, for the possibility of resoring to a referendum.

Furthermore, it should be noted that the resolution passed by the legislative body of the TFSC carries some changes from the standpoint of what was implied in the draft-bill. Such as the wording used in the first draft, which was: /"The Turkish Cypriot people have the right to determine for themselves their own fate (self-determination). When necessary they exercise this right through their own autonomous will."/ In the resolution which was passed the wording is as follows: "Even in the event that we are forced to use our right to self-determination as stated in article 4, /this does not constitute a barrier to its resulting/ in an independent, unattached, dual zone Republic with a dual nationality population on equal terms, as planned within the framework of the principles stated in the Denktas-Makarios and Denktas-Kyprianou summit agreements, through talks."

It can be said that the difference between the two texts stemmed from the fact that the TFSC sensed Turkey's inclination on this matter and from the desire to pass a resolution more in conformity with Turkey's policies.



In this state of affairs the question of /"What will happen now?"/ arises.

At first glance, it would seem that the answer to this question lies in the attitude of the Greek Cypriot sector. That is, if Greek Cypriot authorities persist in their former attitude and do not renounce the course of stubbornly bringing the matter before international forums, the TFSC will have to resort to determining its own fate. If, on the other hand, Kyprianou can finally grasp the fact that a solution in Cyprus can be reached through the free will of the two populations, then without any need to follow such a course, the parties will strive to find a solution through intercommunal talks.

Truly, it is difficult to imagine that Kyprianou is unable to see this fact. However, there are factors which prevent his commonsense from prevailing. The first one of these lies in domestic policies. Chauvinist Lissaridis, who never had any prospects of power in Cyprus and who, up to now, was never able to achieve anything positive, tries by sly attacks to prevent Kyprianou from following an intelligent course.

On the other hand, Papandreou, who finds himself in rather a tight spot in Greece, is turning the question of Cyprus into a tool for his own wider perspective policies and attempts to push the Greek Cypriot population into a course which we believe no to conform at all with the interests of this population.

In fact, Ankara is quite aware of the motives behind Papandreou's stance. In the last few days one often encounters statements which show that he is fully cognizant of the serious problems, both from a military and from a political standpoint, which a hasty declaration of a resolution of self-determination would create for Ankara.

In such a situation, the latest resolution of the TFSC emerges as an equation with many unknowns with respect to the developments it might trigger.

In the next 8 to 10 months many clues will emerge for the solution of this equation with many unknowns. We hope that those clues will result from resolutions governed by common sense.

12278

CSO: 3554/342

## JEAN POPEREN THOUGHTS PRIOR TO PSF CONGRESS

Paris LE MONDE in French 28 Apr 83 p 8

[Text] Jean Poperen, member of the National Secretariat of the Socialist Party (PS), has sent to the first secretary of the PS and to Francois Mitterrand a document of "thoughts" in anticipation of the congress to be held at the end of October. In the 65 pages, the number two man in the PS analyzes the Left's record during the last 2 years and alerts his friends to the decline in popular support for the government and to the radicalization of the "extremists" on the Right.

He calls attention to what he regards as shortcomings in the way the PS has played its role of "active" and "vigilant" support for government policy. In light of the disagreements that have been expressed since the unanimous congress in Valence, among the various attitude groups within the PS--mainly between the "Rocardians" and the others, Mr Poperen calls for the party majority to assert itself as such during the coming congress. He writes: "It is one thing to live together, and another to govern together."

Jean Poperen writes: "These gentlemen of the Right can only perceive the Left as a minority. If you want everything to be for the best in the best of worlds, the Right has to govern and the Left obey. To each his role. Having the Left in power can only be an incongruity of history(...), and who can doubt that these men of the Right--not all of them, of course,--at least those who are the most active today, those who set the tone..., in sum, who are the chime of the 'clock'...these men; who can doubt that they will hesitate over nothing, precisely to put an end to the incongruity, to shorten the 'parenthesis' (as they say). They have not backed out elsewhere. And previously they have not backed out with us. They will try only if we are weak."

Mr Poperen then reviewed the Left's record, whose "experience is by now considerable." On the subject of foreign policy, he writes: "Enough hypocrisy: everyone is well aware that the Soviet system waits in ambush for the moment when the Western system reaches the point of offering an opportunity. And,

in fact, Europe's inability to organize, and thus to put itself in a position to undertake establishment of new world relationships, will inevitably create, in 10 years, in a generation...or two..., but doubtless not more, the opportunity for whomever may wish to occupy what will definitely be a political nonexistence, in the strict sense, a vacuum. It requires very refined sophistry and an outstandingly perverse masochism to claim that it could be the Americans who will fill this vacuum. If Europe does not assert its own will, the Americans will, before long, have totally drained it, indeed reducing Europe to the total vacuum. And it can be said without a doubt that before the end of the century, the sanctuary of their defensive arsenal, having maintained the illusion of security for the Americans and their desire to avoid responsibility for the world, a politician will be found to be elected president of the United States on the pledge of disengagement from the European theater. That will be a day of glory for the 'anti-American Left,' which for so many years, under the shelter of the American umbrella, has solemnly discoursed on our independence.... At that moment, it will be quite late; very probably, it will be too late. It is more to prevent that possibility, and not to repair the irreparable, that France has a role to maintain--really an irreplaceable one--of serving as a solid dike of resistance--military and political--against the threat of an upset in the equilibrium on the European continent: and certainly if Europe were to succumb, all the slow progress, the postponements, and the consequences of this upset in the equilibrium would then be nothing more than the froth of history, whether the West European peninsula toppled all at once, by surprise, into the Soviet knapsack, or it sunk softly into the drifting status of Finlandization."

#### Erratically

Mr Poperen then notes that the Left "has done more than survive", although in the present context it can only "advance erratically: after one punch to ward off inflation, another against unemployment, it is now foreign trade that is the threat."

In spite of this, Mr Poperen observes, "the doctors of economic laws" are crying catastrophe, "since catastrophe is the nature of the Left." He writes: "One of the systematic psychological devices of the Right--which is partially successful--(along with the themes of the Left's 'aggressiveness' and 'sectarianism,' as well as 'cutting of France in two') is that of the 'economic bankruptcy of the Left.' The left is born 'bankrupt.' The most hypocritical go so far as to sigh 'it is too bad,' but that's the way it is, an inevitability--a curse. The Coue method with optimum results: we repeat, we repeat, and the false will become true, or at least people will believe that it is true, and that is what counts in the end."

Referring to employers' reservations following the Left's victory, Mr Poperen condemns the "offensive" attitude of Mr Gattaz, chairman of the National Council of French Employers (CNPF), particularly with regard to the responsibilities of enterprises and application of the Auroux laws. He writes: What are these gentlemen of managerial organizations engaged in if not daily organization of the class struggle? (...) The behavior of these managerial organizations has served as an impediment to economic activity, and to investment. That is the reality. They occupy the main, decisive sector, in the

struggle against change; they have held their ground, in cooperation with other socio-professional sectors that provide them with a popular base, and also, of course, with the political Right and its prominent figures throughout the country, with the ideological and propaganda centers of the new Right, and when necessary, with its activist groups, including a substantial element of the governmental and paragovernmental techno-structure. It is their own 'class front'. (...) The key to our difficulties is first of all political. We are experiencing the clash between the 'established powers' and the camp of change; yes, every concession without a counterconcession is made at the expense of our camp, it weakens us, it gives our adversaries additional means with which to try to defeat us. Politics is complicated with respect to details, but the details always form a pattern around a linking thread. The linking thread today, as yesterday, is class confrontation."

#### A "Chilean Coup"

Mr Poperen next condemns the actions of the "extremists," over the past 2 years in their domination of the Right's share of the managerial structures, the press magnates, the banking networks, and the 'establishment' of the major government departments and services. They have not accepted, they 'do not tolerate,' they will not rest until they have brought us down; and more than one sign, more than one slogan, more than one street demonstration has demonstrated that if they could they would carry out a 'Chilean coup' against us, in their own fashion." The author calls on the coming PS congress to define the "rules of the game," the rules of the "compromise" that was the desire of the previous congress at Valence in October 1981. He emphasizes: This "compromise cannot be our capitulation." He urges the government to obtain things in return (investments and jobs) for assistance given to companies, and that these be systematized. He envisages negotiation--a "big, comprehensive bargaining session" that would deal with wages--like the "Matignon agreements" of 1936.

Mr Poperen considers that you can "ask a lot from people if they are confident they are not being deceived." However, he writes, "the criterion of honesty" is social justice: "Yes to rigorous, hard measures, when the time is difficult, when you have to stock together and clench your teeth; on condition that you are more rigorous still in regard to social justice. You do not pursue social justice 'despite' the rigor; you emphasize social justice more strongly 'because' of the rigor. That is precisely why you cannot call on wage earners to make investment efforts while capital is refusing to do so. And this is why anything that would have the appearance of a more or less camouflaged 'shifting of responsibility' would be unacceptable." Mr Poperen does not believe, moreover, that the Left will settle, between now and the end of the term, for "a few piecemeal outlines" of a tax reform. He hopes for a "more serious" regulation of multiple officeholding and reform of the networks of distribution.

The deputy from Rhone adds: "The surest educational method is to use the facts. Wage earners have not been waiting for the CERC [Center for Study of Income and Costs] study merely to learn that most of them have quantitatively benefited little from the policy of spring 1981, and that there are many

beneficiaries among the groups least in favor of the Left. If this conclusion is accurate, one can well see the major political consequences stemming from the conference: we must get our world back on track.(...) No one is thinking of ignoring the constraints of the economy (in fact, everyone is thinking very much about it), but failure, the failure above all of a leftist government, will be certain if that government sacrifices its political commitments to the constraints of the economy. (...) Our public support is weakening, though the second round of voting in March 1983 gave us a reprieve, but since then the situation has deteriorated further. Our reprieve will soon be running out, and thereafter there is a risk the decline will become irreversible. The socialists' main social base is the mass of medium-level and lower-medium level wage earners (...) If that is indeed our main support, then let us stop making it, in effect, bear the heaviest burden: in the end, the "support" will shatter.(...) If our main targets--on taxes, wages, and social security contributions--were definitely to be the two-child family; husband, programmer, wife, saleswoman, or the unmarried post office worker or school teacher; in short, if we had decided to harm first those with a positive attitude toward the Left, and particularly toward the PS, then let's calmly tolerate what threatens to be the last years of the leftist government in this century, and let us prepare our winter quarters for a long winter in the opposition."

Mr Poperen believes it is necessary to clearly mark the "dividing line" among the supporters: "What should we think of this distinction between 'reserved' and 'unreserved' sectors in the labor area? Indeed, employment security would become a kind of favor that would have to be paid to the former: and the public sector workers would have to give up the guarantees of the public service law for the convenience of the employers, who are demanding to be able to fire as they please.(...) It is an example of the kind of social progress that, instead of providing some progress for those bringing up the rear, would bring everyone down to the level of the least favored, and would reduce the scope of guarantees obtained by the workers against the savagery of the laws of the marketplace."

On the other hand, he believes that we cannot today make the wage earners accept a "trade-off" of reduction in working time and a further decline in standard of living. He writes: "Some on the Left are not afraid to teach us by calling on us to overcome so-called 'demagogic' habits. However, considering the courage, sometimes a bit in the Saint Cyr style of '14, with which we have dared to take steps affecting our electorate, I really believe that in this respect we are above suspicion. Frankly, in the nondemagogy department, we are just right."

#### The PS Majority

Mr Poperen then stresses the shortcomings he sees in the way the PS has fulfilled its mission of organizing an "active" and "vigilant" support for the leftist government. He declares: "We call on the government to demonstrate its authority, to implement its decisions. Let us sweep up around our own door: let us enforce, have our decisions carried out." The deputy for Rhone then referred to the incidents of lack of discipline that occurred

during the recent municipal elections. He said: "That is the only case where anyone still talks about self-management (...) Self-management now has little usefulness within the party, used only for appearance's sake."

Mr Poperen believes that the unanimity of the various tendencies within the PS that was achieved during the Valence congress was not a "good solution," but the "inevitable result of exceptional circumstances." He writes: "Since Valence there have been events, actions, and, even more recently, public statements that have been unrestrained expressions of disagreement." After referring to the debate between Michel de la Fourniere, member of the national secretariat in charge of human rights (close to Mr Rocard), and the "Mitterandists," particularly Pierre Joxe, Mr Poperen concludes that the majority in the PS "must assert itself as such." He adds: "It is one thing to live together, and another to govern together," and affirms that the "tightening up" of the government team must be decided on in accordance with political criteria.

9920

CSO: 3510/511



## POPEREN CALL FOR 'CLASS WAR' CAUSES CONTROVERSY

Paris LE MONDE in French 30 Apr 83 p 8

[Article by Patrick Jarreau: "The Poperen Effect"]

[Text] Mr Poperen's thoughts on the Left after 2 years in power have been seized upon by the opposition spokesman as a kind of confession: under cover of trying to bring the French together, the Socialists in fact wish to divide them and pit them against each other.

Bernard Pons, secretary general of the Rally for the Republic (RPR), spoke on Thursday 28 April about a "clear contradiction" between the appeal for unity issued by Francois Mitterrand during his trip in Nord-Pas-de-Calais and the "language of confrontation and class struggle" used by the number two man in the Socialist Party.

Jean Lecanuet, president of the French Democratic Union (UDF), also stressed the "contrast" between Mr Mitterrand's remarks and the views of Mr Poperen. He added: "The government is in constant contradiction." Gabriel Peronnet, honorary president of the Radical Party, expressed surprise that Mr Poperen addressed his thoughts to the president of the Republic, "forgetting that the latter is constitutionally the president of all of the French, and, as soon as he is elected, no longer a party leader."

The government spokesman, Max Gallo, anticipated these criticisms by stressing that the document from Mr Poperen to the head of state was the product of his "personal reaction and expression." It was only a "point of view," and was like that which "any party member or socialist figure" might have expressed. This point of view in no way committed the president of the Republic or the government, whose action continues to be guided by the imperative for "social harmony" put forth by Mr Mitterrand in his televised interview on 2 January at Latche.

Mr Gallo's comments tend to correct the impression given by Mr Poperen, who, in addressing his document to the head of state, appeared to associate the latter with preparation for the socialist congress. Even though Mr Mitterrand cannot be disinterested in the internal discussions of the PS and in what kind of position it should take in respect to the government's actions, the president of the Republic is not himself committed to the discussions, any

more than he would be by the conclusions. Moreover, he cannot afford to appear receptive, as a result of the initiative of a close colleague, to language such as "confrontation of classes," when he himself is constantly calling for unity to achieve economic recovery.

The circumstances in which Mr Poperen publicized his thoughts explain why his remarks about the nature of the resistance the Left is encountering have received more attention than the resistance which involves the need for a "compromise." Nevertheless, the latter was the main theme of the socialist leader's contribution, and in that respect it was faithful to the approach developed at the Valence congress. Mr Poperen does not reject, but rather defends the government's policy--by contrast to the position taken by the Socialist Center for Studies, Research, and Education [CERES] or by Pierre Joxe's associates explaining the conditions that, in his view, determine the success of that policy. Hence the call for a "comprehensive bargaining session" setting the terms for compromise between the social groups that represent the Left and those whose interests are damaged or whose convictions are challenged by its policy.

As the summary of the Central Committee debates published in REVOLUTION shows, the Communists are disturbed by the hypothesis that the evolution of government policy will draw the Left as a whole, and irreversibly, onto a social-democratic course. The same fear was no doubt not unrelated to Mr Poperen's feeling that it was necessary to relocate the action of the Left within the "class" logic on which it is historically based.

It was precisely Yvon Gattaz' intention to respond to this logic when, in reference to Mr Poperen's document, he stressed that he "personally" rejects "class struggle, that dusty and toothless old woman."

9920

CSO: 3510/511



## PORTUGUESE PAPER DEPLORES GREEK NATO REPRESENTATIVE'S STATEMENTS

Lisbon A TARDE in Portuguese 23 Jun 83 p 6

[Article by A.B.C.: "Greek Treason"]

[Text] "Our colleague must have made a mistake in his airline ticket and instead of going to Moscow, he got off in Copenhagen."

This was the reaction of a French parliamentarian to the statements made by one of his Greek colleagues in an assembly of the Atlantic.

Indeed, this was a needed statement. Our Greek ally had just read a statement--stemming, that is, from a perfectly conscious intention and not due to some sudden oratorical inspiration--in which he produced a number of affirmations that constituted a scandal in that environment, to say the least. The lifting (sic) of martial law in Poland is a positive development, the USSR is ready to open a dialogue for peace, sanctions or any limitation of exchanges with the eastern bloc are out of the question, the Warsaw pact has made a positive contribution to the dialogue, the USSR is acting in good faith and sincerely wishes to try its best for a just peace, it never made any statements aimed at dividing NATO, the Greek Government supports all pacifist movements, etc, etc. Here are some of the gifts that were offered to the Alliance's parliamentarians.

While the Russians are gradually, with each passing week, turning operational an SS20 with its 4 nuclear warheads of 150 megatons conceived by approximately 20,000 scientists working full time thanks to the technology imported from the West in the guise of perfectly inoffensive products, while the proliferation of such weapons in Asia alone leads to the doubling of their numbers each year, here we are democratically treated to the echo of the disinformation in which the KGB is a past master from the mouth of our own allies.

Someone said, at that meeting, that the difference between East and West was precisely the fact that it is possible, in a Western meeting, to produce such statements. Of course.

But nevertheless, it is not consoling for us to know that the Poles or the Bulgarians are not free, when in the midst of those who are entrusted with the defense of our freedom there are spokesmen--consciously or not--of those who seem to have sworn to kill it. Especially when these are Greeks. Pericles said that the beginning of freedom is security. But Pericles seems to have receded far back in time and not to be heard any longer by his own compatriots.

## NEW BOOK ALLEGES SOVIET PENETRATION OF NEWSPAPER

## ETHNOS Paper Named

Athens I KATHIMERINI in Greek 23 Jun 83 p 1

/Text/ Last evening a book fell like a bomb in the offices of the Athens newspapers. The author of the book, titled "Take the Nation Into Your Hands," is Mr Pavlos Anastasiadis, a Cypriot journalist and correspondent in Greece of THE NEW YORK TIMES, THE DAILY TELEGRAPH and THE SUNDAY TELEGRAPH.

The writer describes his book as a documentary uncovering of Soviet attempts to infiltrate and control part of the Greek press as was the case in other western countries.

The distribution of the book to the newspaper offices resulted in a --justifiably-- frenzy of interest. The author contends that the Soviet approach concerns the newspaper ETHNOS.

Subsequent to this revelation, the reaction of the ETHNOS ownership is being awaited with special interest today, as is that of the government which recently had announced legislation of special measures for the "Hellenization of newspapers."

The 318-page book contains 72 photographs and photocopies of contracts as well as sketches.

The author points out that "14 months of study and collection of data from at least eight countries --Greece, Cyprus, Great Britain, the United States, Sweden, Germany and Luxembourg, as well as sources from the Soviet Union itself" were needed to complete the research.

In the 16 chapters, the author devoted himself almost exclusively to the publication and circulation of the newspaper ETHNOS, to its ownership and its director, as well as to other publishers and journalists.

In his published work, the author refers to the Soviet effort to infiltrate other newspapers. Letters are published and the overall matter is linked to the publication of a well-known encyclopedia. He also points out that a businessman, a former ELAS /National People's Liberation Army/ and KKE cadre, had devised a plan to create a "Soviet center" right in the heart of Athens in the multistoried Katrantzou athletic goods building. The plan failed, however, because of the well-known case of arson that occurred at the same time as that of the "Minion."

ETHNOS Sues

Athens I KATHIMERINI in Greek 24 Jun 83 p 1

/Text/ The newspaper ETHNOS has sued Mr P. Anastasiadis over the latter's book "Take the Nation Into Your Hands" which mentions the existence of a Soviet infiltration plan into the afternoon newspaper.

Yesterday, a government spokesman said that the government would see to it that the hearings on the matter would be speeded up and he described the book "as suitable for the summer break." He added that "it was not a serious matter." The spokesman pointed out that the publication of the book "seeks to create an unhealthy atmosphere in a sensitive area of public life, namely the press."

In his answer, the book's author, Mr Anastasiadis, described the government spokesman's statement as unfortunate because he avoids coming to the substance of the data that the book presents. He added that the government spokesman referred only to one newspaper and not to four as he had tried to do in his book.

5671

CSO: 3521/359

## ND READIES ITSELF FOR NEW ELECTIONS

Athens I KATHIMERINI in Greek 22 Jun 83 pp 1, 3

/Excerpts/ New Democracy is getting ready for sudden elections and with this prospect in mind it will dynamically oppose any adoption of and electoral fraud system.

This pre-electoral readiness was stressed to party deputies by its president Mr E. Averof who told the parliamentary group the following:

"New Democracy will continue its opposition task while at the same time preparing for elections concerning which it had requested Mr Evert at our last session to prepare a brief study.

"Although sudden elections are not probable they are not to be excluded. I have positive information that a prominent government official insists on having elections in October or November, using the following argument: the economic situation this summer may be somewhat controlled but not this winter. Given the fact that, at any rate, this coming spring, May at the latest, elections must be considered a certainty, it would be better if they were held now, before the big damages of winter, rather than later. I do not believe that this view was accepted. Nevertheless, since a prominent official supports it and since it serves their purpose we must seriously take it into consideration. I do not know the electoral system, nor the time nor what parties will take part in the elections. The system, I want to believe, cannot be any different from the one now in force. Because otherwise there will be strong opposition over the adoption of any electoral fraud system about which the newspapers are writing. We will oppose it with all our means and I believe that they will not get away with it. As for the number of parties, I would want to tell you that information has come into my possession, also statutes as well as founding articles together with signatures."

## National Socialists

Mr Averof put special emphasis on foreign policy, stressing that "we are beginning to assume a national socialist popular democracy format.

"I am afraid that they are showing many signs that we are heading in that direction. The day before yesterday, Mr Koutsogiorgas said that we will pull out of the EEC. Today, Mr Gennimatas told a gathering that we will pull out of

NATO. Now, we do not know who makes decisions in the government of 52. But the fact that such statements are being made by men who are basically government officials shows that something is not going on well and that something dangerous is happening.

"If we combine the above statements with the words of the prime minister, then things become even more alarming. His famous speech before the congress of economists of socialists of America and Europe alone suffices for one to be convinced of this. At this congress, Mr Papandreou hauled the Common Market over the coals, that same man who in a few days is taking over its presidency and the one who is drawing so much foreign exchange from it.

"I will not go into the policy over the bases which also is unusually odd. First of all, negotiations of such long duration turn out to be no negotiations at all. Secondly, anti-American gatherings by the party --acknowledged that they are by the party-- while negotiations are continuing, other manifestations too, such as the one that called the meeting of the leaders of the big industrialized countries feigned friendship.

"My experience as minister of foreign affairs for 8 years has taught me that two things are fatal for every country. One is not to have a stable line. Mr Papandreou has shown this repeatedly. The other is to express itself with anything but diplomatic language over prominent personages."

The ND president subsequently analyzed the methods now being used by PASOK to stop the upward trend of New Democracy. As, for example, that ND is ideologically of a different kind and that it is not united. A third method that Mr Averof attributed to the "number one in the class of vulgar language," namely Mr Koutsogiorgas, is the issue of leadership.

The ND president said, "There was an issue of leadership because with the operation I had undergone it was not known whether or not I would return or whether I would be in shape to exercise my duties upon my return. Today, the reason is moot since I am in shape and I am decided upon exercising my duties. I am sorry but I will tell them I am healthy. Consequently, let them leave all that; we have found them out. And all know that their endeavors are in vain since even events themselves have proved them wrong."

5671

CSO: 3521/359

## PAPANDREOU'S REPORTED RELIANCE ON FAMILY, CLOSE ENTOURAGE

Athens I KATHIMERINI in Greek 13 Jun 83 pp 1, 3

[Text] Premier A. Papandreou has transformed the Council of Ministers and the Parliamentary Group of his party into audiences for his exclusive monologue. With the excuse that the things said in these bodies are being passed on to the "rightist" and "untrustworthy" press, Papandreou has abolished, in point of fact, every form of dialogue in the principal instruments of authority, by downgrading them into silent assemblages of listeners.

This situation, which was confirmed last week in a most distinctive fashion in both these organs, has led to intensified protests within the party of the majority, since all the people who with good intentions have been wanting to express certain observations--which in their opinion were constructive--on various issues of the government's policy are now being driven into the one-way street of dissidence.

A second characteristic of the way the government is currently being run, which was also confirmed last week, is the oppressive concentration of all authority in the Kastri Group. All the ministers have found that they are unable to communicate with the premier in any way. Everything is required to be routed through his family circle and close entourage at Kastri. These "trusted third parties" convey the "decisions" of Papandreou, without the recommending minister being able to explain his views to his premier or having a chance to try to persuade him. This situation has put into a difficult position many government officers who disagree with a number of acts of the government even though many of these bear their signatures.

## With Memoranda

Negative reactions from the ministers have led necessarily to their submitting memoranda to the premier containing their observations, but they have never seen these memoranda taken into account in the shaping of the government's policy. Thus, almost all the ministers who have not become affiliated with the "Kastri Group" find that they are obliged to carry out a policy with which they do not agree, in the shaping of which they have not participated. Faced with this situation, a number of them have chosen to submit their resignations, as the only solution for preserving their political dignity.



It is rumored that close to 15 ministers and deputy ministers have tendered their resignations, but no response has been given to these. In fact, some have returned, but again they have met with silence. In any case, most of those who were being reshuffled, according to reports in last Friday's newspapers, were the people who have tendered their resignations.

#### Orders From Kastri

Suddenly the parliamentary majority has realized that it is being trapped into implementing a policy which is such that nobody knows where it is leading or how it is being made. Everything comes down as orders from Kastri. Even the Executive Office, especially following the very appalling removal of An. Khristodoulidis, has been reduced to an "assembly" of two persons, Ak. Tsokhatzopoulos and G. Gennimatas, which is under the supervision of the premier's family circle at all times. Of the remaining members, the president of the Chamber of Deputies, I. Alevras, and Minister of Foreign Affairs I. Kharalambopoulos have not made an appearance for more than a year, while P. Avgerinos has resigned two times so far, even as minister, K. Laliotis is in disfavor with his fate being unknown, and P. Moralis has been inactive.

Kastri's response is also silence to the urgings of many party officers for the convening of the Central Committee and for preparing for the party's congress, even though the premier himself has promised a number of times that it will take place in 1983. Reports are reaching Kastri that many officers are prepared to severely criticize the entire political course being taken by the government, and indeed these officers are not just from the left wing, as was the expectation up to now. Throughout the entire country, within PASOK a certain kind of united front is seen to be forming between those party members who have not joined the "dance of the government's cash-box"--as one deputy calls it--and the parliamentarians. In many areas of the country, in the capital and in the provinces, there are more and more frequent discussions and inquiries by PASOK officers on the question of "where are we going?"

#### The Attack on the Press

The famous Article 4 in the bill on the "socialization measures" and the sudden attack on the press--all of the press, both friendly and unfriendly--have provoked strong reactions within the governing party. A great many people admit that the gulf is deepening between Kastri and the broader centrist and leftist classes who voted for PASOK. And since they do not desire to be cut off themselves from these classes, they are carrying on a dialogue with them, regardless of what the top level of the government says. Even in the higher organs of PASOK, such as the Organizational Secretariat, these anxieties are being expressed openly and without any fear.

These officers are said to have resolved to refuse to follow the top level of the government in the implementation of its dictatorial measures, preferring instead to go along with the centrist and leftist classes, in which they have their roots in any case. The dictatorial and totalitarian character of the governmental leadership has seemed even more pronounced to these officers after its attack--without exceptions--against the press.



Many attribute this attack to a systematic attempt to diminish the influence which the press has on the officers of the governing party, so that information to the public can be limited only to those things which are communicated by the state-run mass media and the things which are written by PASOK's two press organs.

12114

CSO: 3521/345

## FINANCIAL DISCLOSURES FOR MINISTERS, DEPUTIES

Athens I KATHIMERINI in Greek 15 Jun 83 p 1

[Text] The declarations on the assets of the deputies, as they are made out by these deputies themselves in accordance with Law 4351/64, have been distributed this year as well to the journalists by the president of the Chamber of Deputies, I. Alevras. Consequently the following points are evident from these disclosures:

The "richest" ministers of the socialist government seem to be Ag. Koutsogiorgas and A. Simitis, who disclose a large number of properties, houses, and stocks of considerable value.

A like wealth appears to be enjoyed also by the leader of the official opposition, E. Averof, with real estate in Athens, Larisa, and Trikala, as well as with farming operations.

On the other hand, Premier A. Papandreou declares as his only assets a private house in Psykhikon (the house in Kastri has passed into the hands of his daughter Sofia).

The ones who own the most real estate are considered to be the former minister of justice, St. Alexandris, and PASOK deputy Gr. Solomos, and the one with the most income is the KKE deputy M. Theodorakis (7,731,605 drachmas).

It is evident also from these disclosures that:

G. Rallis has declared substantial income from businesses, but these belong to his wife Lena.

Minister of National Economy G. Arsenis is seen to have bank deposits in the United States amounting to \$70,000--income, as he himself declares, from his service in the United Nations--as well as income from the Bank of Greece together with income from the Ministry of National Economy, amounting to 2.800 million drachmas.

Two of the leading names in PASOK, G. Gennimatas and A. Tsokhatzopoulos, are stockholders in construction firms, from which they have various incomes.

Laliotis and Tsokhatzopoulos disclose that they are "exclusive owners" of the newspaper EXORMISI, with each one having a 50-percent share. Their "subordinate" at the same newspaper--although a deputy minister of the press--is D. Maroudas, who in fact declares income from his pay at the EXORMISI amounting to 356,698 drachmas (after taxes!).

Typically mentioned are the cases of Ag. Koutsogiorgas and I. Skoularikis, who aside from their other income and despite the fact that they are ministers, declare substantial incomes deriving from liberal professions (for example, law practice).

A number of deputies, both of the ND and of PASOK, are declaring zero assets. But most of these have made broad use of the right to purchase automobiles from the ODY [expansion unknown] at "special prices" and on easy terms.

12114

CSO: 3521/345

## GENNIMATAS REJECTS 'HARDLINER' LABEL, LEFTIST ORIENTATION

Athens MESIMVRINI in Greek 23 May 83 p 5

[Interview with Minister of the Interior Gennimatas, by Tina Politi]

[Excerpts] When one makes the acquaintance of Giorgos Gennimatas and his wife, the first thing which one is impressed with is their human warmth. Moreover, they are very steady on their feet. They are among the enlightened people. And something else: They are people who have strong opinions. And in particular Giorgos Gennimatas has a dynamism, very well hidden by his demeanor, but absolutely obvious to the interlocutor who tries to sound him out or to ponder with him questions of personalities, events, and situations.

A member of the PASOK Executive Office and a member of the administration as well, he is a much-discussed person, for many reasons. The talk which follows refers to his personal life, although this is non-existent when he is dividing up his time between the party and the government, and also to the way he deals with vital problems.

[Question] It is said that you are one of the more forceful officers of PASOK....

[Answer] You put that elegantly. They do not talk about forceful people, they talk about hardliners. I do not accept this term. I do not like labels. Everybody reveals himself from his activity and above all from his contribution to the collective work, precisely for the reason that the Executive Office is a collective organ in which collective decisions are made. There can be various points of view, but this is a consensus organ, with jointly held views. As for the terms hardliner, a forceful personality, a leftist, if they mean by this a faith in principles, in strategic objectives, I accept this. If they mean that we do not weigh the objective conditions, that there is no flexibility or humanity, I reply to them: It is correct that we are selective, that we proceed in a logical manner, but we also have humanity. The other things I reject.

[Question] At different times, there have been various rumors about your being removed from the government.

[Answer] I have gotten accustomed to these rumors ever since I have been in the Executive Office of PASOK, a long time before we assumed command of the government. I am always ready, as is every officer of PASOK, to offer my services from any rampart. I do not believe that these rumors have as much as a grain of truth in them.

[Question] It is also said that you belong to the left wing of PASOK. Where would you put yourself?

[Answer] I have always belonged to the progressive, democratic camp, without meaning to say by this that we have a monopoly on the sphere of democracy. Of course, at the time when we were voicing the slogans about Democracy, about the 114--so I am showing also my own stigma here--certain people did not accept at that time the terminology "Democracy." When we said that "Democracy will triumph," this was an improper term.

My father and I come from the so-called "democratic camp." Basically, from all those parties which made up the Center Union, in whose youth group I used to be a member.

[Question] How did your political education come about?

[Answer] From my father. He participated vigorously in all the democratic and social struggles, without of course being in the public limelight. He avoided such things with great care, but unfortunately I myself did not escape them.

[Question] From where do you hail?

[Answer] From the Mani [southern Peloponnisos]. My grandfather was a priest and a teacher. In 1916, he did not engage in an excommunication of Venizelos. After that he left the Mani. They hunted him, they exiled him, they even defrocked him at one point, but he was reinstated. He roamed from village to village, and later ended up in Athens, because it was difficult for a Venizelist to live in the Mani. Of course, we also had in our family my uncle, who was an army commander. But he was considered to be sympathetic to the other side. As you see, by way of my family I have experienced from very close up the political conflicts in our country.

[Question] How do you balance the duties of a member of the PASOK Executive Office with your ministerial duties?

[Answer] It is very difficult. It is an exercise in balance. We have religiously observed the distinction between our functioning as members of the government and that as members of the Executive Office, which are quite different things. Time is a great problem. For this reason, upon the advice of our chairman we formed the Executive Secretariat, which fills in for us on everyday duties of organizational-policy guidance, so that the Executive Office can be a strictly political organ. That is, it charts the political line for the PASOK movement within the framework of the decisions made by the Central Committee. Thus, the Executive Office has found its balance and fortunately its dynamic organization, because with our own slight reduction in our presence, this situation had had repercussions on the organization itself, which had produced a weakening.

[Question] What sector excites you more, the party or the ministry?

[Answer] I, at least, have the good luck to be engaged in the same field in the ministry that I am engaged in in trying to lead the party as well, and with roughly the same responsibilities and the same work. That is, in the Movement also my field has been that of local self-administration, of decentralization, of popular participation. The issue of popular participation is deeply appealing to me, and I support it passionately and tenaciously. It is political, ideological, and developmental at the same time. The ministry is preeminently political. That is, I am concerned with elections, with the functioning of the democratic state, with the National Resistance, with the preference vote. All these things preoccupy me also in the party. I try, however, to separate the two functions. I believe that I attempted to do this with relevant functions in the municipal elections. My presence in the Ministry of the Interior did not tip the scales from the ministerial side towards the Movement, which I obviously would like to see win the elections. Now whether or not I succeeded in this is another story.

[Question] If you had any free time, what would you like to do?

[Answer] Throughout my life I have always been doing something or other. I was a trade-union leader earlier, in the Civil Engineers Association, and also at the Polytechnic. I like to read history, a little literature, definitely old poetry....

[Question] Do you have a specific favorite?

[Answer] Koulourianos has a monopoly on Kavafis. What can I say?

[Question] Are you concerned with athletics?

[Answer] Very much. Track, basketball, everything. I have always been very mediocre in athletics, but I have been rather knowledgeable about its problems, and even now I try to keep posted. I do not go out to the playing field. Some mornings I simply read....

[Question] If you were asked to characterize Giorgos Gennimatas, what would you say?

[Answer] A difficult question. I can say that the human element prevails. I believe in the human factor and in public affairs. That is, my view is that of a socialism with a human face and with the human being as its center of gravity. I believe in dialogue. These are the positive points. Let the other people judge the negative ones.

[Question] Finally, Mr Gennimatas, is the Executive Office of PASOK satisfied with the PASOK government?

[Answer] We have unconditionally shared our responsibilities, since all of us are participating just now in the government. I do not know how objective I can be. I believe, however, that we are on a pretty good road, based on the course which had been prescribed. I believe that there are a number of achievements, as well as certain shortcomings which have been pointed out by

the chairman himself. But we will have a Central Committee, and it is there that we will learn about these things. We will state our views. We will assess the situation and we will chart new perspectives for improving our course. There is always room for improvement. We should reduce to a minimum our mistakes. Nobody is infallible. Only he who does no work makes no mistakes. And the great day-to-day problem, the great personal battle which I wage with myself, is how to reduce our mistakes to a minimum.

12114

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## GOVERNMENT WARNED ON COUNCIL OF STATE APPOINTMENTS

Athens I KATHIMERINI in Greek 24 Jun 83 p 5

/Two-part editorial/

/Text/ Now, the Council of State?

The date 30 June 1983 is scheduled to be of determining importance for the future of the Council of State. On that day almost the entire leadership of this highest court will depart because of age limits. And from the government decision that will be made on its succession it will be determined whether this court will be in a position to continue its high mission or whether it will be plunged into a deep crisis with unknown consequences for the fate of the institution.

Leaving on 30 June 1983 will be the present president, A Iatridis, as well as the vice presidents, G. Kondogiannis and P. Markopoulos. Given the fact that the position of the fifth vice president continues to remain vacant, only A. Tsoutsos and Th. Kourousopoulos remain as vice presidents on the Council of State. Therefore, with this rare coincidence, the government will have the opportunity to appoint the president and four vice presidents. The degree of the imminent government influence on the composition of the body's leadership is evident. In reality, the government will appoint almost the entire leadership of the body. Its responsibility, therefore, is vast.

The Council of State as an institution has fully succeeded in our country. It is perhaps the only institution of a European standard. Not so long ago it celebrated its 50th anniversary and at that time all sides gave general recognition to its work in the strengthening of legal methods in the country. This success is due on the one hand to the irreproachable and meritorious selection of its judges with the strictest competition that it imposes upon itself and on the other hand to its internal cohesiveness that is maintained through respect of the principle of seniority during the appointment of its leadership. This is so because the principle of seniority in the judicial body has a deeper function that preserves the mutual respect of its members and the normal conduct of its most important role.

The government has the authority through the constitution to appoint the president and vice presidents of the Council of State from among the council members. This authority, however, does not at all mean authority of subjective, indeed party, selection. To the contrary, the government is obliged, according to the constitution and law, to respect the hierarchy of the body that is intertwined with its independence. Moreover, practically-speaking, the government does not have at its disposal other legal rating factors that could support different resolutions. What the specific weight of each judge is is known only to his peers who promote him, whereas his political opinions do not, of course, constitute a legal rating factor by the government.

For that reason, in all of the highest courts of the civilized countries, seniority is close to holy and the political leadership does not think of touching it. This is so because if it were to do so it would itself be open to the charge that it is seeking to control the court and it would be withholding judicial authority from its favorites. It is known that in France the members of the Council of State do not have tenure; they are not even judges. All known, nevertheless, that an effective guarantee of their independence is the respect of their seniority.

#### Not a Second Blow!

So, while the above prevails everywhere, here, in the current political reality, many ill-omened things are happening. The government intervention that took place last year in the appointment of the Supreme Court's leadership constitutes a precedent that justifies fears over what could happen in the Council of State.

Rumors are already circulating, that indeed were recently hospitably received by a pro-government newspaper, to the effect that the government is planning to repeat its intervention in the judicial field, this time hitting the Council of State through the appointment as president and vice presidents council members younger in seniority than their colleagues. On the other hand --as those in-the-know contend-- at this moment the makeup of the hierarchy expresses the categorization of the members of the body through merit as it has been shaped through promotions that have taken place within the body itself. Thus, the order of seniority of the vice presidents is as follows: Ath. Tsoutsos and Th. Kourousopoulos. The order of seniority of the council members is as follows: Il. Dokas, Ir. Tsiklitis, P. Makropoulos and G. Skourtsis.

However, in a pro-government newspaper the list of council members had been opportunely revised downwards so that it would include those the government favors and who are indeed described as the "more possible" candidates for vice president.

The judges, of course, and more generally-speaking legal circles, are at a loss over this disrespectful provision that lacks all seriousness. This is so because the "claimants" are justly where they have been assigned through the again and again objective judgement of their peers. The government, therefore, has no right to upgrade them and to promote them only because it counts on the future sharing of political favor that it will bestow upon them.

One must be quite naïve, if not cynical, not to wonder about the motive of the planned intervention into the Council of State. This is so because there are serious indications that the government is bothered by the independence of the body. It is bothered because the respect of the constitution and law to which the highest court insists constitutes an obstacle to straightforward party aims.

We want to hope that the justice minister, the academy professor Mr G. Al. Mangakis, will not link his name with a new blow against justice -- the strongest pillar of democracy, as Georgios Papandreou once described it.

5671

CSO: 3521/359

## INONU STATEMENT ON FOUNDING OF SOCIAL DEMOCRAT PARTY

Istanbul CUMHURIYET in Turkish 2 Jun 83 pp 1, 13

[Text] Ankara (CUMHURIYET Bureau) -- Erdal Inonu, who has been involved in efforts to found a Social Democrat Party, yesterday announced the party's list of founders consisting of 42 persons. In announcing the founding principles of the party, Inonu said, "It is the responsibility of all of us to help the Turkish Armed Forces, which have announced that they will resume defense of the country, complete their task."

Inonu said that the best way to prevent Turkey's return to pre-12 September and the endangering of national integrity and unity was "to be regulatory, not restrictive." "Our party is in full consciousness of the republicanism, nationalism, etatism, populism, secularism and revolutionism which are the Ataturkist principles," said Inonu.

In the announcement made at the temporary headquarters at 31/5-6 Selanik Avenue, Erdal Inonu expressed the following views:

"Our country, which was mired in a political, economic and social crisis prior to 12 September 1980, was saved from fratricidal conflict and the climate of anarchy and terror bordering on civil war by the Turkish Armed Forces' compulsory seizure of power.

"Now it is the duty of all of us to help the Turkish Armed Forces complete their task, which, as the distinguished President Kenan Evren said immediately after the 12 September action, they have declared to be the return with dignity and love of duty to defense of the fatherland which is their fundamental duty following the restoration of the democratic system.

"The party we are forming will stand firmly against recurrence of the pre-12 September upheaval in Turkey, against threats to the integrity of the nation and our national unity, and against impediments to the functioning of the democratic system and the social, legal state. The best way to prevent threats of this sort according to our belief is to be regulatory, not restrictive.

"Our party considers commitment to the law the foundation of its existence. For this reason, respect for and commitment to the law and primarily the Constitution will be the fundamental principle of all our endeavors. Should objectionable aspects or rules occur in any law, our party will respect them, but seek their amendment through legal means.

"Our party is in full consciousness of the republicanism, nationalism, etatism, populism, secularism and revolutionism which are the Ataturkist principles.

"It respects human rights. It sees economic development in the improvement of production through modern, technological progress. It believes in the need for the balanced and just distribution of national income, which must steadily rise, as regards individuals, regions and communities. It recognizes employment as one of our society's most important problems. It intends to find firm and lasting solutions in the war on unemployment. Our party will be a libertarian, egalitarian political body, committed to the principles of the social, legal state which protects the rights of all who work, provides for social security, rewards labor and aims for spiritual and material development.

"It is imperative that priority be given to increased production in order that the state may achieve the social welfare that is our goal. At the same time, the just sharing of production must be ensured. Our program endorses the libertarian democratic system as the means to achieve this goal. Thus it will bear basic similarities to the program of a Social Democrat Party in the Western sense, but will hold the realities of our nation foremost in mind."

Erdal Inonu said that some of those on the list he announced had not yet completed the legal procedures or handed in their resignations, adding, "but these procedures will be completed before the official application is submitted. Bylaws and draft programs have been completed by the committees and will now be presented for the approval of the founders, completing the formation of our party in a few days."

Formal application for the Social Democrat Party to be formed under Erdal Inonu's leadership will reportedly be made on Friday in all probability.

Erdal Inonu and the 41 other members on the founders' list will meet today to finalize the program and bylaws, according to information obtained. Erdal Inonu's list includes 10 former university instructors.

8349

CSO: 3554/314

## SOCIAL - DEMOCRAT INONU MAKES ROUND OF CONTACTS

Istanbul CUMHURIYET in Turkish 26 May 83 pp 1, 11

[Text] Erdal Inonu who is involved in an effort to establish a social democratic party was granted an audience by President Kenan Evren. The meeting took place yesterday at 9:30 hours.

As he left the meeting which lasted about 30 minutes, Inonu said: "When I began my efforts towards the establishment of a political party I had requested a meeting with the President for the purpose of providing him with information. The President was kind enough to receive me today. It would not be proper for me to say anything beyond this."

Stating that "any statement concerning the content of the discussion would be disrespectful", Inonu said that work was continuing in connection with the party's program and charter committee. Inonu added that he would continue to remain in contact with the party's founders. In response to a question implying that Ilhan Tekeli, Oztin Akguc and Gulden Kazgan had turned down offers to become founding members Inonu said that an announcement would be made following the completion of the list of founding members. In response to a question inquiring as to whether or not an offer to join forces with Necdet Calp would be forthcoming, Inonu said: "As I have stated earlier, I remain prepared to take part in a meeting if he should be willing to do so."

Erdal Inonu arrived at the Cankaya Residence at 9:14 hours in a blue Anadol bearing the license plate 06VZ317. He appeared at the gate of the Cankaya Residence at 9:46 hours following his meeting with President Kenan Evren.

Following his meeting with the President, Erdal Inonu returned to the Pink Mansion where he continued his activities. At 11:30, Oktay Eksi who is a writer for the newspaper Hurriyet came to the Pink Mansion where he met with Erdal Inonu for half an hour.



Following this meeting Erdal Inonu said: "We had a very nice conversation with Oktay Eksi. I proposed that he join the founders of our party. His acceptance has given me great pleasure and as we leave one another we are both very pleased."

Following the meeting, Oktay Eksi said: "I believe in the need to establish a democratic system that will respond to the aspirations of the Turkish people. For this reason, I have decided to contribute as much as I can to the social democratic movement that is being organized around Erdal Inonu. That is the reason for my being here." Eksi also added that he had come to the end of his tenure as a writer for the newspaper Hurriyet.

At 12:00 hours Erdal Inonu met with Cevdet Selvi who is the Chairman General of the Turkish Petroleum Workers' Union. Following the meeting, Erdal Inonu said: "Cevdet Selvi has accepted my proposal to join our founding members. I thanked him and related to him my hopes that his decision should prove to be auspicious." Cevdet Selvi said the following in connection with the meeting: "The honorable Inonu has proposed that I become a founding member of the party and I accepted with pleasure. I told him that I would do my share for the party for as long as I would remain useful."

Yesterday, as Erdal Inonu continued to work at the Pink Mansion, Cezmi Kartay, Kazim Yenice, Rafet Tuzun and Ahmet Durakoglu worked on the party's charter while Atila Sav and Turkan Akyol worked on the party's program.

At 16:45 hours, Ismail Hakki Birler arrived at the Pink Mansion and met with Erdal Inonu. He later indicated that he would meet with Erdal Inonu on still another occasion. Following Birler, Tekin Alp who was a former governor of Ankara arrived at the Pink Mansion at around 17:00 hours. Alp stated that he had accepted Inonu's proposal that he become a founding member. He said: "The honorable Inonu has asked me to be among the founders of a political party which is social democratic in nature, Western oriented and currently being organized by himself. I have given him a positive response and will begin to participate in these activities as of tomorrow (today)." Oztin Akguc who came to the Pink Mansion at 17:20 hours met with Inonu for 15 minutes. Akguc did not reply to questions seeking to find out whether or not he had been asked to join the new party. He stated that Erdal Inonu himself would subsequently make an announcement concerning this matter. At 18:00 hours Caglar Kircak also met with Inonu. Kircak stated that their meeting had been pleasant. In response to a question inquiring about whether or not Inonu had asked him to become a founding member, Kircak said: "Let us not come to any conclusions. In the days to come I might be able to give you more detailed information



concerning this matter. I believe that any announcement at this time would be premature. It is possible that we meet again."

Following Kircak, Professor Munci Kapani who is a former member of the Faculty of Law at the University of Ankara met with Inonu. Kapani stated that he had not accepted Inonu's proposal that he become a founding member. Stating that social democratic parties should be formed at the grass roots level, Kapani added that the formation of a social democratic party would be extremely difficult under these conditions. He said:

"The honorable Inonu said that he would strive to establish a social democratic party in the Western sense of that term. However, I am of the opinion that a European oriented social democratic party cannot be formed and placed in the political arena in today's environment. Moreover, I do not believe that my personality possesses certain attributes that are required by politics."

Later, Inonu met with retired Airforce three star general Seyfi Turagay. As he left the meeting, Turagay indicated that he had received an offer and said: "I shall think about it and naturally, will give an answer as soon as possible. Later, as Atila Sav left the Pink Mansion he said: "General Turagay is among us."

At approximately 21:30 hours Ismail Hakki Birler came to the Pink Mansion for a meeting which lasted one and a half hours. Following his second meeting, Birler said that he had accepted in principle the offer of being listed among the founders of the party. Ilhan Tekeli who is known to be working on the party's program visited Inonu at 22:30 hours. In response to a question inquiring as to whether or not his name would appear on the document listing the party's founders Tekeli replied: "That is not yet certain. I have not made a decision."

Acceptances by Oktay Eksi, Cevdet Selvi and Ismail Hakki Birler brings to twelve the number of persons who have made a firm commitment to serve as founding members and to be listed as such by Erdal Inonu.

9491  
CSO: 3554/306

## DOGAN ASSESSMENT OF SOCIAL DEMOCRAT FOUNDERS

Istanbul CUMHURİYET in Turkish 2 Jun 83 pp 1, 13

[Article by Yalcin Dogan: "Social Democratic Side's List"]

[Text] Ankara -- Social Democracy demands youth. Social democracy demands dynamics. Social democracy demands organization. Social democracy demands the production of methods to make concrete the democratic demands of the broad masses. It demands the fulfillment of the democratic, economic and cultural demands of a broad mass of specialists from laborers to intellectuals. It demands the generation of ideas to meet the various challenges encountered. Better yet, social democracy has meaning only in the combination of these summarized principles.

Erdal Inonu announced the eagerly-awaited list of founders yesterday. There are two comments which, in our opinion, bear underscoring in the brief statement he made following announcement of the founding committee:

"The party we are forming will stand firmly against recurrence of the pre-12 September upheaval in Turkey, against threats to the integrity of the nation and our national unity, and against impediments to the functioning of the democratic system and the social, legal state... It will bear basic similarities to the program of a Social Democrat Party in the Western sense, but will hold the realities of our nation foremost in mind."

To what extent will the founding committee announced be able to realize the principles expressed by Inonu? Certainly, it is debatable. The average age is high, it may be said. There could have been a younger roster, it may be said. Criticism may be offered wondering who on this roster will produce policy, who implement it. A representative of the intellectual sector "much more able to fire men's imaginations" could have been chosen, it may be said. Any criticism that has ever been made of any body formed at any time anywhere in the world may now be made of the Inonu team. And it may have a high degree of truth in it. Nevertheless, there is a very fundamental aspect that must not be forgotten in this particular Inonu event: Others have set out to form a social democrat party and failed, leaving a void where it should have been. Now Erdal Inonu is filling this void, but has he been able to fill it satisfactorily? This is what should be debated.

For example, what is the true nature of the few Istanbul businessmen from the private sector who are on the list? How far does their business acumen go beyond playing a good game of bridge or producing brandname flour and macaroni? How much will it contribute to the generation of policy to have professors waiting for Higher Education Council appointments and rectorships among the party founders? Aside from the question of the extent to which a person who had taken the former, disbanded Social Democrat Party to court several times for various reasons represents the world of arts and letters, how can intellectuals accomplish cohesion in the Social Democrat Party circle? How can there be a social democrat committee which includes not one economist?

These questions may make people think. But, on the other hand, there are active unionists, there are teachers thoroughly familiar with labor law and the unions, there are persons knowledgeable in the theory and practice of land reform, there is an uncommonly high number of engineers and technicians, and these may clearly be factors to balance the drawbacks. Some may look at the founding committee including 11 professors and say, "There are still too many teachers." But, on the other hand, we must once again be mindful of the need to emphasize the imperative of thought generation in the period ahead. There is something else about the founding committee that is different from other parties. There is not a single member from the Consultative Assembly. As for retired generals, there is one.

Now the important thing is that the founding committee be able to work together and succeed in putting together a national organization. People are so hungry for an organization that can give voice to the demands of society that even the ability to perform this task may in itself suffice for ratification of the perfection of the founding committee.

8349

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## MUMCU ON PARAMETERS OF POLITICAL PARTY MEMBERSHIP

Istanbul CUMHURIYET in Turkish 15 Jun 83 pp 1,11

[Article by Ugur Mumcu in the column "Observations"; "A Matter of Self-Denial"; passages enclosed in slantlines printed in boldface]

[Text] Some members of the Consultative Assembly promptly registered with newly founded parties. One of those parties was disbanded by the National Security Council. And we wonder, could it be that the esteemed members were a little rash in joining those parties?

It was said recently that some members of the Cabinet would join the Nationalist Democratic Party. Later the news was denied. Meanwhile, mind boggling, incomprehensible pronouncements from /"legal pundits"/ began to appear:

- A minister who joins a party can also stay on in the ministry...

A jurist, particularly a constitutional jurist should have a legal text in hand to be able to comment on this subject. Without this kind of support, how can such a view be defended? Wouldn't one ask that person:

-Mister Professor, what constitutional ruling allows this?

We are living through an era without parties, the political institutions of this era were not founded on a party basis. The members of the Cabinet and of the Consultative Assembly were nominated to their position through the /"appointment process"/. Because of this, working conditions in an era without parties cannot be interpreted in the same manner as the constitutional rulings of an era with parties. To those who make such interpretations, the/"Beginners' courses in Law"/ which are studied in the first classes of Law Faculties should be given for guidance.

Let us imagine, say, that some members of the Cabinet joined the MDP [Nationalist Democratic Party] of General Sunalp while the rest of the members joined Professor Inonu's Social Democrat Party. In such a case, would we not be faced with an extraordinary, unheard of up to now occurrence such as a coalition within the government formed by those parties that have no place in government? This is, no doubt, a theoretical example which will never materialize. But if once, during this period, /"a party-member minister"/ is allowed, the end result will be to open the road to such unforeseen interpretations and developments.

In an era without parties, it is truly impossible for students of the law to understand to what constitutional ruling, to what constitutional principle /"Party membership of Cabinet Ministers"/ relates.

Do not members of the Consultative Assembly who register with political parties openly admit and proclaim that in their future legislative work they will no longer be /"impartial"/? From that point, it becomes increasingly difficult to believe that such members fulfill their duties in the Consultative Assembly /"in an impartial manner"/.

Among such members, there are those who joined the /"political candidate's candidates"/ party which was disbanded by the National Security Council. We are still wondering, did those distinguished members of the Consultative Assembly, after hearing the reasons for the dissolution of their party, ever consider resigning their membership in the Consultative Assembly? The duty of those distinguished members, on the day the party they had joined was disbanded, should have been to withdraw from their position in the Consultative Assembly. Because when those reasons were made public, it became rather difficult for those distinguished members to proceed with the duties to which they had been assigned. It was not even thought necessary to make an apology that would explain the contradiction into which they had fallen.

There is no doubt that, up to this day, those members offered very valuable services to the Consultative Assembly. There is also no doubt that in the 3 or 4 months to come those members will continue to offer very valuable services. But there is no limit to services. They can also serve in other fields.

In Turkey, during various periods, those who dealt with politics found themselves in various kinds of trouble. Some were hung, some were imprisoned. Surely, a share of trouble fell to the lot of the distinguished Consultative Assembly members who joined parties. By joining parties, those members decided to serve thenceforth in a multiple party context. Such members, after joining a party, by withdrawing from their position in the Consultative Assembly would have shown thus self-denial. Especially those members whose party was disbanded and in whose case it would no longer be self-denial but an imperative. But not a single member took that route.

In an era without parties, there is no doubt that in an Assembly without parties /"Party membership for members of the Consultative Assembly"/ created a very interesting and new status.

It may be the case that our constitutional law, in the light of those new developments, is gaining all kinds of new concepts.

And this is for us a big gain which should not be underestimated.

12278

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## MUMCU ANALYZES STABILIZATION OF RIGHT WING

Istanbul CUMHURİYET in Turkish 26 May 83 pp 1, 11

[Text] What should be done to remedy the division within the right wing? A new party should be formed and the three parties that have already been formed should be brought under the roof of the new party. While this may be easy to say, the actual task of achieving this union is very difficult. Therefore, what can be done? A confidence inspiring team should be formed to take the lead and a call for unity should subsequently be issued...

We are impartial as far as right wing parties are concerned. We have no political, financial, economic or ideological reasons that would cause us to prefer one right wing political party over another. For that reason, we can make some impartial choices.

Professor Ihsan Dogramaci who is the chairman of the Higher Education Council should become the chairman general of the new political party. Is there anyone who would doubt that Dogramaci is the only man who could successfully perform this job? Dogramaci is cut out for this job. He is an organizer and has demonstrated his organizational ability by his performance in connection with the reorganization of the Higher Education Council which he organized precisely in accordance with his wishes. He is wealthy to the point of not even knowing his income from the oil fields of Kerkok. He is well known to the point of being either a member or the honorary chairman of every international organization established in the world. No one could deny that Dogramaci would be a uniting factor.

Orhan Aldikacti who is the Chairman of the Constitutional Commission and the Deputy Chairman of the Steering Council of the Newspaper Tercuman is our only candidate for the position of party general secretary. The Constitution is Aldikacti's work. Naturally, this work would be best protected by the hands that have shaped it. Professor Aldikacti should not be cast aside as we begin our transition to democracy. The architect of the



Constitution should be given a place under the roof of the party.

During the upcoming period, Professor Sener Akyol who is the spokesman of the Constitutional Commission would be very useful to the new party in matters pertaining to the relationship between management and labor. Workers owe a great deal to Akyol whose sympathy for workers can be demonstrated by certain dossiers that go back to the days where he worked as an attorney. How could we afford to ignore such talent? Following his tenure as spokesman for the constitutional commission, Akyol should become the spokesman of the new party. There could be no better spokesman or overseer.

Professor Aydin Yalcin is among our notables who have not had their talents fully appreciated in connection with the matter of right wing parties. For many years, Aydin Yalcin has waged a one man war against communism and his exclusion from the party until this time can only be attributed to a KGB plot. This KGB plot must be thwarted. In the past, Aydin Yalcin perceived the Faculty of Political Science as a "laboratory for communism." He waged war against the communists for many years and successfully completed his academic career by forcing them out of action. The fact that Aydin Yalcin is not being considered at this time when a right wing party is being formed is a good indication of the degree of success achieved by "communist tactics." Right wing parties should not be closed to intellectuals. Aydin Yalcin should shoulder the job of coordinating the bringing together of political parties. Aydin Yalcin is perhaps the most important asset in Turkish geopolitics. For this reason, he should be given the job of uniting the parties. We insist on this matter...

It would also be unjust to ignore Professor Fethi Celikbas. Celikbas must leave whatever position he may have on the board of directors of a bank and participate in the activities to form a new political party. His vast experience and peerless qualities as a statesman will enable Celikbas to fulfill this responsibility. The nation awaits new services from him.

While some persons serve the nation others are served by the nation. Celikbas belongs to the former. His life has been spent in the service of the nation. At this time, the door to still further service is being opened to Celikbas. The task of uniting the parties and preventing their separation in the future, befalls Celikbas who is a permanent fixture in our political life.

One should not expect that Mehmet Pamak who is a worthy member of the consultative assembly will remain aloof from these activities. No one should be bothered by the fact that he has not



taken his place among "nationalist" and "idealist" party leaders such as Abdalbaki Tug, Resat Akkaya and Riza Akdemir. Pamak will one day play out his historic role as a unifier. Those days are not too distant.

We know that Halit Narin who is one of our worthy businessmen will not greet this oversight with understanding. We have not yet heard what Vehbi Koc who is a friend of the family has said about these matters. Sabanci has probably taken very badly the fact that he has not been able to provide this enterprise with a steering council member from one of his holding companies. We also believe that Tarik Sara who is from ENKA Holding will play a unifying as well as constructive role. Can we expect Bodur to remain idle? Do not doubt for a minute that Ibrahim Bodur will very skillfully bring together the party leaders.

Business circles and all rightists: Unite. Dogramaci, Professor Aldikacti, Aydin Yalcin, Celikbas and Pamak are awaiting your call.

9491

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## BROADENED AUTHORITY GIVEN PROVINCIAL GOVERNORS

Istanbul CUMHURIYET in Turkish 15 Jun 83 p 1

[Article by Yunus Nadi "Draft on 9 Governors for 9 Provinces in Cankaya"; passages enclosed in slantlines printed in boldface]

[Text] ANKARA (CUMHURIYET BUREAU) - The draft resolution that will have the force of law, prepared by the Ministry of the Interior and which presages great changes in the Turkish administrative system, is being studied by presidential advisers. The draft, which aims at dividing the administrative system into smaller zones and at making conditions easier for governmental services, had been studied by advisers and submitted to the government before. The draft which reached its final form in the Consultative Assembly is now being scrutinized again.

According to information obtained from the Press Advisers' Bureau at the Ministry of the Interior, Turkey will be divided into 7 or 9 provinces and a governor general will be assigned to each province. A prerequisite for becoming a governor general will be either to have served as a governor for at least 5 years or that, in the course of 20 years of duty, to have reached the higher echelons of civil service. No discrimination will be made between military or civilian in nominating a governor general.

During periods without martial law also, governors general are invested with extensive authority to ensure order in the nation and forestall activities that disturb the peace.

The press adviser of the Ministry of the Interior emphasized that the system under consideration has no connection with the /"Inspector General"/ of the Ataturk era, that such an inspectorship aimed only at controlling and he added:

/"Whereas the system that will be applied will change the whole of the nation's administrative map. This is something totally new and which will be implemented for the first time. It was devised in order to facilitate administrative services and to save provincial authorities from the necessity of appealing frequently to the administrative center. Such a measure will be more beneficial both from the standpoint of keeping public order as well as that of administration and investments. Those who are now working as governors in the administrative centers will retain their position either as assistants or as advisers to the governor general.

The draft resolution prepared by the Ministry of the Interior, which will have the force of law, also projects a reunification of the duties of mayor and governor, in the Ankara, Istanbul and Izmir provinces, as was the case prior to 1960. This is intended to speed up services in the metropolitan areas by going through a single channel.

## TOKER ON COHESION IN BROAD POLITICAL SPECTRUM

Istanbul MILLIYET in Turkish 26 May 83 p 6

[Article by Metin Toker: "...And The Last Of The Dice Is Being Cast"]

[Text] Politics in Turkey has the shape of a fan, with the right-wing spanning the distance from the center to theocracy and the left-wing opening out from the center to communism. This is not simply a requirement of the Constitution; it is a requirement brought on by reality in Turkey today. There have been times when this fan could have been opened wider on each side and the constitutional requirement abolished, but officials from the two big parties to the left and right of the center chose not to let this happen. Why? because they knew that rather than re-evaluating the requirements, they could find 'customers' in the forbidden zones. Lifting the ban on those zones would undoubtedly have meant a potential loss of votes for the other zones because those 'customers' would have gone over to their main parties. This is why, when given the opportunity, the most avid disciples of democracy--even those who find any restrictions hard to swallow--left this for another time and place.

That time and place is not exactly staring us in the face. The two sides of the political fan are closed beyond a certain zone, and they will be staying closed for a while. For now, the competition is a matter of determining the major and minor parties on each side of the legitimate zone. The fact that the barrier system for elections allows for one major party on each wing and gives even the smallest party the right to exist beside that major party increases the significance of the competition.

However, the three extremist waves that lie in the forbidden zone certainly didn't gather up their belongings and head north or south on the morning of 12 September, and they certainly haven't given up their ambition of dominating Turkey someday. Up until 12 September, these groups had been bold enough to hold red flag demonstrations in Taksim Square and green flag demonstrations in Konya. And now, they will be returning to their old tactics of trying to group themselves into 'authorized' parties.

Today's restrictions have put a second 'takeover operation' on tomorrow's agenda. The new parties are not going to be a continuation of the old, and you would have to be pretty stupid to believe that the thought of overthrowing the new parties and resuming power at the first available opportunity has never occurred to the old parties.

These things are going to spell success or failure for the prudence, experience and prestige of the new cadres and especially the new leaders. The former major right-wing party had managed to protect itself from the extreme right better than the former major left-wing party had protected itself from the extreme left. Perhaps this was because the extreme right had two parties that chose to dominate political life through coalitions and succeeded at it.

The dice have already been cast on the right wing; the parties have been formed. The last of the dice is about to be cast on the left wing, and it is already known whose seal it will be carrying. The thing that the followers of Sunalp, Esener, Ozal, Calp and Inonu will be paying most attention to is that they don't play into the hands of the parties on the two extreme wings. This cannot be expected to happen in the short-term because of the laws. The danger lies in the medium-term. To help prevent this, leaders must carefully decide whom they will put on the bridgehead of their party. It would also be to the leader's advantage to know politics, people and his job well.

Two of the leaders come from the military, one from the bureaucracy, one from the economic field and one from the university. For those who are interested, the leaders from the economic field and the university have far more 'political schooling' than the others, no doubt. We have rarely seen a political leader from among the bureaucrats. As for the military, there have been many soldiers in the history of the Republic who have taken off their uniforms for the sake of entering politics, but only two or three were able to succeed.

The new leaders do have one advantage: They know the danger that awaits them. The world's most infamous con artist is the con artist with the least chance of succeeding, provided--of course--that his victim isn't extremely naive...

12279  
CSO: 3554/307

## ARCAYUREK IMPRESSIONS ON STATE OF POLITICAL PLAY

Istanbul MILLIYET in Turkish 26 May 83 pp 1,7

[Article by Cuneyt Arcayurek: "Differing Opinions"]

[Text] Since work in the social democratic sector is dragging along and everything that is happening is locked up inside Erdal Inonu's head, the press has turned most of its attention to the right wing.

As the four-floor building of the Great Party of Turkey (GTP) bustles with activity, the headquarters of the Nationalist Democracy Party (NDP) has what officials describe as "a laid back atmosphere that suits its big-party image." By the same token, as the GTP is going full speed ahead in signing up new members, the NDP has taken the opposite approach, delegating the task to the provinces and postponing it to a later date.

Meanwhile, the political sidelines here in Ankara continue to argue back and forth about "signing up party members." These arguments will apparently prevail until the National Security Council completes its investigations of the party founders as required by law--i.e. roughly mid-June.

The parties are getting organized, members are being recruited and the above legal investigations are being scrupulously carried out by the state. This is how things stand at the moment. Nevertheless, the political sidelines seem quite upset about some of the key figures who are taking sides in these days when party platforms are still being formed. For example, rumors have dominated conversations here in the capital ever since about 140 parliamentary deputies joined the GTP recently.

When I asked people from both the NDP and the GTP to evaluate this recent development, I got entirely different points of view.

Some members of the NDP saw the parliamentary deputies' joining the other right-wing party as "a show of force." Others looked upon it as "a sort of nostalgia." All were aware that the GTP



is and will be continuing to sign up people like this.

NDP officials, looking at the occurrence in terms of common sense, say that they don't even want to argue over this aspect of it. However, they do manage to add a touch of sarcasm by remarking that they can't understand "how all of these deputies are going to be squeezed onto the election lists along with nearly 70 founding members of the party."

Prominent members of the NDP, in turn, take the realistic approach to the matter. They see the advantage to having every established party enter the elections, barring any mishaps. They emphasize that it would be a "handicap" to the other parties if things should go otherwise because they know that they have the strongest party. They have no doubt that the elections will turn out in favor of the NDP regardless of what parties enter.

Finally, those NDP constituents who don't understand logic and tend to separate it from party politics say that mass sign-ups and shows of force are not going to produce any worthwhile results. They feel that the GTP should have waited until all legal proceedings in connection with the parties were completed before signing up members in this way. They criticize these enlistments, suspecting that haste could have completely different connotations.

As the sign-ups continue at GTP headquarters, on the other hand, it is of course impossible not to see some justification in what officials there are saying. The GTP makes it clear that they have not pushed any law beyond the limit by enlisting people who have left "a big impression" upon the public. They tell the NDP that nobody considered it strange when the NDP enlisted former members of parliament and even gave them important duties in the party, and that they (the GTP) cannot understand why the NDP is grumbling now that the GTP has done the same thing. As one leading GTP official stated, mocking the criticism: "What were we supposed to do? Let these members exercise their legal rights in the middle of the night so that nobody could see?"

Here is another example of GTP logic. Former members of parliament who have entered the NDP are mostly "has-beens" in their organizations, in public opinion, and at the polls. Those entering the GTP are former deputies who have maintained their reputations and influence in all of these areas. GTP headquarters, pointing out that "the law cannot be interpreted one way when it applies to us and another way when it applies to someone else," asks that it therefore not be considered strange for "old names" to be included in new parties.

Perhaps the timing of the GTP's mass sign-ups seems awkward to some circles, and maybe it would have been better to have delayed this, as the NDP says. But, is it right for one side to try to

make unfair attempts at backstabbing the other by denouncing it for personal material gains?...

As democracy and parties are reborn, those who have tried to thwart this birth will of course be remembered.

12279

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## FRENCH, DUTCH, BELGIANS BUILD JOINT MINEHUNTER

Brussels LE VIF in French 9 Jun 83 pp 27-28

[Article by G.M.V.: "Three Flags for One Boat"]

[Text] The French Navy, the Belgian Naval Force and the Dutch Royal Navy have jointly worked out their "tripartite minehunter" program.

Lorient, in Brittany: the minehunter "Eridan" is completing its trials brilliantly; two other ships of the same type are ready to begin theirs,

Alblasserdam, in The Netherlands: the hunter "Alkmaar" has left the shipyard to start its trials. Other hulls are nearing completion.

Ostend: The Belgians started later but are getting going now, and a hull, entirely similar to those of the "Eridan" and the "Alkmaar," is rising strongly under the air-conditioned hangar of the Polyship (Beliard-Mercantile) shipyard.

The same type of boat is involved in all three cases. Since some 10 years ago, the admirals of France, The Netherlands and Belgium have recognized, in agreement with NATO, the necessity of renewing their minehunter fleets. A model ship was designed, with costs and efforts shared--a ship that would be everyone's business.

But pay attention! A minelayer, not a sweeper! These boats will, of course, carrying light sweeping equipment, capable of neutralizing a few conventional mines, the kind that float at the end of a buoy-rope. But such is not, in fact, their real task. Likewise, they will not be equipped with the acoustic "hammer" or the magnetic "loop," which are specific to sweepers.

The specialty of the minehunter is, in fact, to attack a difficult mine or one in a difficult position: sometimes a magnetic or acoustic device, but usually a pressure mine, patient and formidable cylinders that ill-intentioned airplanes or submarines can sow over the marine bottoms. To track, find and destroy these nuisances, a minelayer must have:

--superior and silent handling; a light and agile step is needed for moving about in regions infested with sudden death, which is no small matter;

--extremely powerful and precise means of detection (sonar) with which to discover and identify any suspicious object, down to depths of 80 meters (lower than that, the mine would hardly be dangerous to surface ships);

--means for "killing" the mine, either by sending to it a robot--the "self-propelled fish"--to set an explosive charge near the mine, or (in difficult cases) by sending down a team of divers, to do the tricky work by hand.

#### The Belgian Contribution

We do not have the space to give a detailed course on mine warfare (a specialty of our Ostend people) or for describing all the sophisticated equipment of our new hunters. Too bad--it is quite fascinating. But the fact remains that France has ordered 15 of these boats. The Netherlands too. As for the Belgians, they will need 15 ships also, but the labyrinths of our budget procedures have made it possible to order only 10 hunters in a first phase, with an option for the other 5. That is rather unfortunate, for our industries' share in this tripartite program is not proportionately reduced. No matter: the Belgian contribution remains an important one.

Here, roughly, is how it functions:

--Each country is building its own hulls, using the common plans. Our Ostend shipyard will therefore produce 10 of them, with the finishing work done at Ruppelmonde.

Fiberglass (GRP\*) hulls, of course: they must not be magnetic. There is no longer any possibility of building all this of wood, for the race of shipbuilders in wood has died out, or almost. Furthermore, Grp offers a good many advantages (weight, maintenance and even strength). It is nevertheless quite spectacular to build 47-meter boats of "plastic": that is not such an everyday occurrence!

And the tests have now revealed the surprising solidity of these hulls.

--Each country is furnishing part of the equipment, for /all/ the hunters planned. In broad outline, it can be said that:

- the Dutch are building the main engines (big diesels);
- the French are supplying the gas turbines (generators) and the weapon systems (sonar, electronics, Pap diving robots);
- the Belgians are delivering the electrical units for propulsion (slow, easy-handling, silent) in the "combat" zone. This propulsion system is a marvel from the ACEC [Charleroi Electrical Engineering Shops], enabling the hunter to "plane" in a fixed position around the mine, like a buzzard hovering over a field mouse.

There is obviously a great deal of miscellaneous and secondary equipment, the production of which the three countries are sharing equally.

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\* GRP: Reinforced Plastic Fiberglass

--Maintenance and "after-sales" service: here too, the three countries are working jointly. It goes without saying that the Belgians will remain responsible for replacements for everything related to the electrical propulsion; the Dutch will take care of everyone's diesels; and the French shops will see to it that the weapon systems are well-maintained. Thus, economies and simplification for everyone.

#### An Enormous Market

The most interesting part of all this is that the union of the three countries justifies the best hopes for eventual exports. In a few years, it will also be necessary to replace the actual minesweepers, using very similar hulls. But minehunters and minesweepers are nearing the end of their useful lives throughout the world. In the next 10 years, hundreds of hunters and sweepers will have to be replaced. Ships of this kind will be needed for the U.S. Navy, for the navies of Norway, Denmark, Portugal, Spain, Greece, Turkey and other NATO partners, and so on.

Ships of this kind will be needed for the ASEAN nations: Australia, New Zealand, The Philippines, Malaysia, etc.

They will be needed by the Latin American admirals, those of the Persian Gulf, even certain African navies: in toto, an enormous market!

The "tripartite minehunter" will not, of course, win all the orders! There will be British, Italian competitors. But the foreign ships are quite often "dual-purpose ships"--boats designed both to sweep and to hunt; they are therefore bigger, more vulnerable, more expensive and less "disposable"--and thus less specialized.

Furthermore, the combined weight of France (energetic export policy, traditional clientele, etc), The Netherlands (maritime reputation, talent for business, etc) and even Belgium (its specialization in mine warfare) is going to be a big help to our sales teams. It is not unreasonable to hope that the "tripartite" boats can take half of the world market in this category. And it would indeed be a great opportunity for our shipyards, our industrialists, etc.

For Belgium in particular, it is a good piece of business, one that assures us a better introduction to foreign navies. And let us not forget that we have interesting frigates of Belgian construction that deserve to be better-known (and sold) among the crowd of hunters!

#### A Likable Warship

Gloomy spirits are, of course, going to reproach me for this enthusiasm for military ships, for engines of war. I regret to say it, but those criticisms will leave me colder than a self-propelled fish.

First of all, because it is necessary to get along, and if engines of war are the only product that we can export vigorously at this time, so be it! We would be wrong to deprive ourselves of them! The nations big and small, in

the East and in the West, do as much and more, and would we be the only ones to let ourselves be ruled by good consciences, like the donkey in the fable, guilty "of having stripped the length of his tongue from this meadow"? To hell with that! I do not see how our dead shipyards, our dying industries, will promote world peace or prosperity.

Next, please consider that a minesweeper or minehunter is quite a likable warship. It does not have the mission to kill anyone. Its cannon (20 mm) is there solely for exploding mines that have come to the surface. It exists only for disarming the infernal machines that mischievous persons might be tempted to sow in our waters. It is a kind of life-saving work, isn't it? And at the end of 1944, we were quite happy to have a few small minesweepers to clean up our coasts, to open up the Scheldt for us.

Nothing more is needed to obtain my blessing. From Helder to Toulon, by way of Brest, Cherbourg, Dunkerque or Ostend, we are soon going to see these stocky and stubborn silhouettes, these strange tubs crammed with electronics, assigned to keep our waters healthy and navigable.

The same boats, under three flags.

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## FRG, NORWAY COOPERATE IN SUBMARINE CONSTRUCTION, DEPLOYMENT

Munich SUEDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG in German 15 Jun 83 p 11

/Article by editorial staff writer Alexander Szandar: "German Submarines Voyage to the North"/

/Text/ In the near future the Norwegian and FRG ministers for defense will sign an agreement on cooperation in the construction of submarines. This represents more than the final hand in a long lasting poker game of negotiations involving economic and political interests. The "memorandum of understanding" also smoothes the way to a new Federal German Navy submarine concept, including a substantial expansion of its assignment and field of deployment. In the coming 10 years German submarines will once again push well into the Atlantic, in an area limited by Spitsbergen, Greenland, the Norwegian coast and the northernmost tip of Great Britain. Only a few years ago that would have met with political objections not only by Bonn but also the northern neighboring countries.

In the course of some tough negotiations, Norway was most concerned with removing its economy's one-sided dependence on the oil and natural gas of the North Sea, broadening its industrial base by the acquisition of know how and thereby creating new jobs in the most promising fields possible. Experienced (German) partners are to help develop marketing potential on the world market.

The FRG, for its part, focused on (among others) the assurance of energy supplies--preferably by means of drilling rights awarded the German DEMINEX company--and the safeguarding of jobs in the depressed shipbuilding industry. Additional targets were the standardization of weapons and equipment (with the byproduct of lowering costs) and the rather more political aspect of accommodating the Norwegians who had been angered by the failure of various industrial cooperation projects.

The poker game began with a Federal Germany Navy project to equip the 18 206-class submarines, purchased in 1973-1975 and designed for service in the Baltic, with a new control and fire direction system so as to keep the submarines reasonably "threatening" through the 1990's. Involved here is a computer capable of evaluating intelligence results (by, for instance, direct-listening sonar or radar systems) and of guiding the submarines' torpedoes to their targets. The Norwegians are willing to order from German shipyards replacements for 15 Kobben class submarines constructed in the FRG, but only on condition that the Kongsberg Wapenfabrik defense plant supplies the "basic control and weapon engagement system" (FueWes) for the new Norwegian ships and the German submarines to be modernized. Unfortunately, lacking the

necessary know how, Kongsberg would have been unable to fill the order in the mid-1980's as Bonn had wished. By the time the matter was finally settled (negotiations had begun in 1980), so much time had elapsed that it was too late for the FRG Navy to place the FueWes order with Kongsberg's German competitors Krupp-Atlas-Electronic.

Due to the shortage of money in both countries' budgets, the procurement plans were steadily whittled down. Instead of the original 15 and later 10 submarines, the Norwegian Navy was recently able to order only 6 submarines from the Emden Thyssen-Nordsee Werke (with an option for another 3). Instead of the electronic reequipment and "combat effectiveness upgrading" of 18 ships, the Federal German Navy may only have 12 submarines overhauled in part for the purpose of "combat effectiveness maintenance." The old electronics removed from these ships will serve as spare parts for the remaining 6.

To make a virtue of financial necessity after all, the navy began to develop a new concept. This drew its inspiration from the decision by parliament and the government to cut down the ambitious frigate building program from 12 to 6 ships. Moreover, in June 1980 the Federal Defense Council responded to NATO's wish for extending the Federal German Navy's area of operation beyond the 61<sup>0</sup> latitude to the north.

The strategic conception of "forward defense" thus assumed a new dimension for the navy. Up to that time submarines were confined to the Baltic and the approaches to the ports of the Soviet Union's Baltic Fleet. Now the way was free to the Norwegian Sea, right to the vicinity of Murmansk. From the latter port the Soviet Northern Fleet could threaten the North Atlantic supply route--vital for the West--with its 138 submarines and 110 surface warships (ranging from aircraft carriers to corvettes).

Before the Federal German Navy's assignment consisted in meeting supply convoys at the northern rim of the North Sea and escorting them to West European ports. However, once the frigate program was cut, the navy was unable any longer to provide five escort groups. Consequently it developed the concept of attacking the enemy before he could achieve the North Atlantic maritime link with his combat units: The "gap" between the North Cape and Greenland--"forward" and close to the main Murmansk base.

The new naval concept tackles several aspects at once. By doing more to ensure the defense of the North Atlantic, it responds to U.S. demands for the Germans to help ease the burden of the U.S. Navy which might have to be committed elsewhere. Secondly the Norwegians are assisted, who--for financial reasons--are no longer able to maintain the same number of modern submarines in this area. Thirdly the 211-class submarines, planned for deployment in the Norwegian Sea, cost only half as much as a new frigate and can manage with one sixth of the manpower required to run it. In view of the expected financial and personnel troubles of the Bundeswehr in the 1990's, this is an enticing prospect indeed.

It is something of a moot point whether we can still accept the argument the navy likes to trot out--that 800 allied escort ships, 14 aircraft carriers and about 1,000 aircraft were needed to achieve the turn-around in the World War II Battle of the Atlantic against hardly more than 50 German submarines. It is certain, though, that just about 30 German and Danish submarines in the Baltic are bottling up more

than 100 large and small ships as well as more than 60 specialized helicopters and aircraft of the Warsaw Pact. Some 750 Western submariners are confronting 6,000 Eastern seamen. This ratio of about 1 : 6 also applies to the operating costs of Western submarines as compared with the Eastern "hunters." The German naval command assumes that the bottling up of Soviet fleet sections in the northern seas by German, Norwegian and (nuclear) American submarines would ease pressure on the convoys and therefore make more palatable to NATO and the Americans the absence of more German frigates and destroyers.

In its government agreement with Norway the Federal Republic is obligating itself to equip a total of 12 submarines with the Norwegian FueWes. The 6 ships of the Norwegian Sea 211-class are to go into service from 1990 on and replace 6 ships of the obsolete Baltic 205 class (still, these 6 ships will be lacking in the Baltic). Later, another 6 submarines are to be procured for the Baltic, beginning with the 1,100-1,300 211-class. Evidently the naval fliers in their Tornados are to make good the loss of combat capability suffered by the submarine element.

At the same time we should not harbor any illusions: In 1990 the submarines--now estimated to cost DM250 million each--will be as expensive as the new frigates are now. Their present price is around half a billion D-marks. Considering this amount, it should surely be possible to meet a modest but long-standing wish of active submariners in the Federal German Navy for a modicum of comfort in the submarines: The inclusion of a heating system (although they are cruising in relatively warm waters).

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